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ABSTRACT

Papers in this volume include: "Retirement Learning" (Adair); "Effect of Literacy on Personal Income" (Blunt); "Popular Discourse Concerning Women and AIDS" (Boshier); "John Steinbeck's Learning Project" (Brockett); "Faculty Careers of Professors of Adult Education" (Caffarella); "Racism in Canada" (Carriere); "Perspectives on Program Planning in Adult Education" (Cervero, Wilson); "Inclusive Language and Perspective Transformation" (Coffman); "Impact of Critical Social Theory on Adult Education" (Collard, Law); "Assessing Adult Learning Strategies" (Conti, Fellenz); "Class Age Composition and Academic Achievement" (Darkenwald et al.); "Redesign of Continuing Education as a 'Practical Problem'" (Dirkx et al.); "Framework for Understanding Developmental Change among Older Adults" (Fisher); "Value of Literacy for Rural Elderly" (Freer); "Professional Women as Self-Assessing Adult Learners" (Greenland); "Democratizing Knowledge" (Group for Collaborative Inquiry); "Contributions of African American Women to Nonformal Education during the Civil Rights Movement" (Gyant); "Gender-Related Differences in Adult Classroom Behavior" (Hayes); "Investigations into the Human Phenomenon of Commitment" (Ilsley); "Early Human Resource Development Work" (Jacobson); "AFS Volunteer Resources Study" (Jones-Ilsley, Hansel); "Transformation and Self-Renewal at Midlife" (Karpiak); "Critical Analysis of 'Adult Education Quarterly'" (Kim); "Lindeman and the Meaning of Adult Education" (Long et al.); "Deconstruction and Its Implications for Adult Education" (Melichar, Lumpkin); "Learning from Life Experience" (Merriam, Clark); "Subjects as Partners" (Merrifield, White); "Phenomenological Investigation of Self-Will and Relationship to

Achievement in African-American Women" (Peterson); "Knowles and the Mid-Century Shift in Philosophy of Adult Education" (Podeschi); "Exploring Chinese Conceptions of Learning and Teaching" (Pratt); "Shaping Literacy" (Quigley); "Analysis of Three Strategic Training Roles" (Redding); "Deterrents to Participation in Compensatory Adult Education in South Africa" (Reddy); "What Do Adult College Students Want in an Instructor?" (Ross-Gordon et al.); "Hilda Worthington Smith" (Saul, Bernhardt); "Education and Working Class Radicalism" (Schied); "Personal Transformation through Participation in Social Action" (Scott); "Gender Differences in Faculty Perceptions of Academic Career Enhancers and Barriers" (Simpson); "Forgotten Adult Educators" (Smith); "Return to History" (Stein); "Sketches of the Landscape" (Warren); "Examining the Relationship between Pragmatism and Social Action in American Adult Education" (Wilson); and "Adult Education Movement in the 1950s" (Zacharakis-Jutz). (YLB)

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PROCEEDINGS

32nd Annual Adult Education Research Conference

May 30 – June 2, 1991

The University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma U. S. A.

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Dear AERC Conferees,

It is my pleasure to welcome you all to the 32nd annual Adult Education Research Conference.

We are happy to host the AERC for the first time in Oklahoma. It is our hope that this will be a productive and pleasurable experience for all of you.

The AERC steering committee has selected a variety of provocative and well-conceived research papers. We commend them on their hard work and congratulate the researchers for being selected.

The Program Committee wishes to thank the Oklahoma Center for Continuing Education personnel for their hard work on AERC's behalf.

We wish you a productive visit.

Lloyd Korhonen
Conference Chair
University of Oklahoma

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RETIREMENT LEARNING: SEVEN STORIES OF LOAD, POWER, AND MARGIN

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Abstract: This study used a grounded theory methodology to explore the meanings of learning during the retirement transition. Findings indicate that the learning was either instrumentally or expressively oriented. McClusky's theory of margin was used as a theoretical framework in interpreting the data.

Introduction

The research described in this paper subscribed to Lindeman's (1926) assumption that learning is situational and begins at the point where life situations call for adjustment. Eckerdt (1987), in his review of retirement research, states that "retirees' general success at coping with possible losses and strain suggests that there are behavioral and cognitive strategies for negotiating retirement, but these have yet to be understood" (p. 580). This study investigated learning as a strategy used in negotiating the retirement transition. Learning was defined broadly to include both formal and informal social contexts. Thus, it included institutionally sponsored learning, as well as self-directed learning and learning from and through experience.

The research was guided by How? and Why? questions as a way of determining the personal meanings or "meanings in context" related to learning during the retirement transition. Therefore, this research responded to a call in the literature by assuming a person-centered approach. This study was based upon the phenomenological paradigm and used a grounded theory methodology.

Methodology

Two in-depth interviews were conducted with seven participants 55 years or older who defined themselves as retired. Participants were chosen after screening 30 referrals and volunteers. A contrast was sought among the participants based upon age, gender, education, occupation and length of time retired. Approximately three to five hours were spent interviewing each participant. The first interview consisted of four open-ended questions: Tell me about your work experience?; What has your retirement been like so far?; How has it been like what you expected?; How has it been different from what you expected? These questions yielded important background information as well as contextual data related to expectations and the actual experience of retirement. They were open-ended enough to allow the participants to reveal their life worlds and the specific issues, themes and concerns relating to the retirement experience. At the end of the first interview, the participants were given a Learning Activities Sheet which served as a cognitive tool used for reflection upon learning. It also served as an outline for the second interview to prove the meanings and motivations behind the learning. Verbatim transcripts were made of all interviews.

In accordance with a grounded theory methodology, field notes, process memos and theory memos were kept throughout the research process, providing an audit trail.

Data Analysis

A preliminary thematic analysis was conducted on each set of interviews. From this analysis an initial coding scheme, based upon and adapted from the general framework presented by Bogdan and Biklen (1982), was developed. Their heuristic of "families of codes" was helpful in conceptualizing the data and in building the coding scheme. Based upon the findings from the thematic analysis, the following seven families of codes were identified: 1) Setting/Context of the retirement decision; 2) Definition of the current retirement situation; 3) Strategies of coping with the retirement experience; 4) Motivations; 5) Resources; 6) Activities; and 7) Self-perceptions. Regularities of issues and themes aided in the creation of codes for some of the above families of codes. For example, under Setting/Context of the retirement decision, the following codes were devised: CONDITIONS OF RETIREMENT; AGEISM; EXPECTATIONS OF RETIREMENT; and LIFE EVENTS.

A process memo was written giving a definition for each family of codes and the posited coding categories. These were defined in two ways: 1) by a description of the category, and 2) by examples from the data. These served as operational definitions for coding. Miles and Huberman (1984) state that operational definitions of codes ensure that they are consistently applied by the researcher. This process memo was used as a template for coding the transcripts. A decision rule was made for coding strips in multiple categories. It was decided that a strip of data could be coded twice; however, it could not be coded twice within the same family of codes.

All transcripts were coded using the initial coding scheme. Files which included summaries of all data coded within a particular category were generated. Those summaries were subjected to further analysis using the constant comparative method. Strips of data in each category were compared with one another to assess fit within that category. Each of the categories was examined for centrality. And finally, categories were analyzed to see if other categories or subcategories were present. Analysis of the data indicated a pattern of codes in the categories MOTIVATION, LEARNING, and ACTIVITIES. The data in these categories were subcategorized according to Londoner's (1985) definitions of instrumental and expressive orientations. Furthermore, McClusky's (1973) coping, expressive, contributive, influence, and transcendence learning needs were found to relate to either an instrumental or expressive orientation. Coping needs were deemed instrumental; expressive, contributive, influence, and transcendence needs were adjudged subcategories of the expressive orientation. Miles and Huberman (1984) state that such a pattern of codes

> ...signals a theme that accounts for a lot of other data -- makes them intelligible, suggests causal links, and functions like a statistical factor in grouping disparate pieces into a more inclusive and meaningful whole (p. 57).

The final coding scheme resulted in the seven families of codes, 22 separate categories, and 30 subcategories. A total of 674 strips of data were represented in the final coding scheme. The final coding scheme, which operationalized McClusky's and Londoner's theories in data analysis, as well as the pattern of codes that emerged, are significant findings of this study.

The findings of this study were presented in seven case studies which were structured by presenting the context of the retirement decision, the participant's experience of retirement, and finally, the learning which occurred during the retirement transition. The cases are primarily descriptive. What follows is a discussion of the findings based upon the individual cases and the data analysis.

Discussion of the Findings

The findings of this study indicated that, for these participants, retirement had been a period of dynamic change and that it had been experienced and perceived as non-routine and "a disorienting dilemma." This is illustrated in the following interview excerpts:

> I had no idea what it was going to be like. How could I? I don't know as I visualized any particular thing. I guess the way I looked at it was like scattering my shots. Otherwise retirement was going to be a whole different thing from working or business. And what it was going to be was, I guess, I was going to have to find and explore until I do find out what it's all about.
>
> I really don't know what a retired person is expected to do. So since I don't know what a retired person is expected to do, I don't know whether I feel retired or not. It's not like I'm doing something specific, but it's not like I'm doing nothing. So it's something that I'm sort of not used to.

Despite the ambiguity of the retirement role, six of the seven participants framed the experience positively as "an opportunity," "a whole new way of life," "It's like I got a new job," and "I feel like I'm 5 years old again." Though these frames carried with them fears, concerns and uncertainties, they also instigated exploration and discovery of new ways of being.

By exploring "meaning in context," this study focused upon the meanings attached through an analysis of the needs and goals stated by or inferred from the participants' stories. These needs and goals were found to be instrumentally or expressively oriented. Havighurst (1964) adopted these Parsonian terms as descriptors of the types of education/learning which are essential for lifelong learning. He defined instrumental learning as "a kind of investment of time and energy in the expectation of future gain" (p. 17). Expressive learning "means education for a goal which lies within the act of learning or is so closely related to it that the act of learning appears to be the goal" (p. 18).

Building upon the works of Parsons and Havighurst, Londoner (1985) developed a motivation-participation model based upon a social psychological needs -> social system -> goal gratification construct. Londoner integrates instrumental and expressive orientations into his model (Figure 1).

Inferred Causal States or Conditions	Human Behaviors Exhibited in	Inferred Gratifications
Instrumentally		Instrumentally
Oriented -----		----- Oriented
(delayed)		(delayed)
NEEDS	SOCIAL SYSTEMS	GOALS
Expressively		Expressively
Oriented -----		----- Oriented
(immediate)		(immediate)

FIGURE 1

Londoner's Model of Needs -> Social System -> Goal Gratification

This model was useful in understanding the interrelationships of the data discovered in the categories MOTIVATIONS, LEARNING, and ACTIVITIES.

Instrumental Learning

Londoner (1985) states that

> PLYs [persons in their later years] are committed to preserving psychological and physical health and well-being as well as to maintain satisfactory social adjustments. In short, PLYs have survival goals uppermost in mind to help them resolve daily coping problems. ...Their basic goals are instrumental (i.e. surviving and coping in a less-than-hospitable culture); and consequently their needs are instrumental, because they are committed to instrumental survival goals. Many daily activities are classified as survival patterns of behavior because these activities optimize the goals of PLYs, namely, coping meaningfully with life in the best way possible (p. 103).

Figure 2 uses Londoner's model and actual data strips to show the needs and goals, and behaviors and attitudes, of the participants to illustrate the instrumental orientation.

Instrumental learning was found to be primarily related to the activity resources of health, finances, and social support. Gubrium (1973) identified these as factors which enhance or limit activity in later life. Adequate activity resources contribute to what McClusky calls "margin in life" which is "the vitality of freedom a person must have to continue living and to meet new challenges" (Stevenson, 1982, p. 222). This margin enables an individual to maintain personal effectiveness, which Atchley (1982) defines as the capacity to influence the conditions of one's life. He cites personal effectiveness and independence as the main supports of self-concept and self-esteem.

Inferred Causal States or Conditions	Human Behaviors Exhibited Within Social Systems	Inferred Gratifications
Mr. Hinkle The issues when you retire, the issues are financial security, as a base, and then on that you're going to build what kind of lifestyle and what you can afford.	And the other thing I've been working on, and I didn't have much experience in this area. And that is finance. Becoming financially secure. I think it's a subject that does take a tremendous amount of time, and I'm still learning. I didn't realize how vast it was.	I don't know as I'll ever be a superb investigator. But I'd like to get to the point where I feel comfortable with it and I feel that I'm doing a successful job.
Mr. Cadena Because I underwent what you might call shock treatment. This is me but now this is me in context with this thing that's a part of me and I need to make friends with it. My diabetes and I can be good friends, if I treat it right, it will treat me right.	It has changed my habits completely. So I learned a lot about diet, I learned a lot about medication. And I've also learned that there are so many who have been diagnosed with diabetes and life goes on normal. The only requirement is that you make it normal by making friends with your diabetes.	So the idea of looking forward to retirement and be healthy. If you are going to retire and be an invalid or half an invalid that is not something to look forward to. The kind of life, physical life, I'm going to have is very much dependent upon what I do right now.

FIGURE 2
Instrumental Learning

Expressive Learning

Expressive activities or learning are typified by immediate goal gratification. The goal lies within the learning/activity or is so closely related to it that the activity itself appears to be the goal. While the learning and activities coded EXPRESSIVE often related to "learning for leisure," or were described as "fun," the motivations and meanings attached to them were found to be much deeper (Figure 3).

Basically expressive learning/activities were found to be related to needs and goals associated with identity, competence, meaningful and purposeful activity, and affiliation. All of these are universal adult development themes and are often expressed as developmental tasks in later life. While instrumental needs and goals are critical in enabling participation in activities, the expressive needs and goals are essential in resolving Peck's (1968) question of "Can I be a worthwhile person without a job?"

Rosow (1985) says that the most crucial social rule affecting older adults involves the progressive loss of roles and functions which exclude older adults from significant social participation. Most of the participants' expressive needs and goals related specifically to continued engagement and involvement with the larger social context. These activities, and the learning related to them, enabled them to see themselves as meaningful contributors to society and to combat the marginal status often assigned to older adults by the larger society.

Inferred Causal States or Conditions	Human Behaviors Exhibited Within Social Systems	Inferred Gratifications
Mr. Mathers Oh, I think we have a need to get involved. I'm sure that's a need we satisfy for ourselves hopefully contribute something to the congregation. I'm sure it satisfies a a need to belong to a group, social outlets as well as spiritual.	At church I'm the assistant treasurer. And I'm on the Stewardship committee. We have a steady flow of study courses coming to the committee. I do a lot of study in that area. And we're in Divine Drama bible study.	...to broaden my knowledge of the Holy Scriptures thereby improving my potential for meaningful service in the church community. And frankly, it's quite rewarding. It gives you a sense of having accomplished something.
Mr. Cadena And I think part of the idea of volunteering is feeling good. But if you feel that you have helped a little and hopefully somebody else. Then that's all.	I'm reading for the State Library, recording books for for the blind. I do that once a week.	I think that with the experience I have and the knowledge I have, I can be of use somewhere.

FIGURE 3
Expressive Learning

McClusky's Theory of Margin

McClusky's theory of margin has been widely discussed in the adult education and educational gerontology literature. McClusky asserted that the later years of adult life are characterized by disruptions that threaten an individual's ability to maintain a sense of personal well-being and autonomy. This desired state of autonomy is represented by a margin of individual power over individual load. His primary thesis is that education and/or learning play a major role in enabling older adults to create and maintain a margin of power.

An examination of the data in the categories CONDITIONS OF RETIREMENT and EXPERIENCE OF RETIREMENT showed that this was a period of dynamic change. Many of the personal changes and disruptions can be characterized as losses (e.g. loss of health; a spouse; identity). These losses, the social ambiguity of the retirement role, and fears and concerns about potential future losses created an increase in individual load. These contextual and personal factors were primary threats to personal effectiveness and independence, the main supports of self-concept and self-esteem.

As a strategy, learning proved to be essential for increasing individual power by meeting needs and goals associated with managing and controlling individual load. Learning served as a vehicle for the achievement or maintenance of a margin of power. Instrumental learning enabled the participants to manage basic survival needs and maintain activity resources. Learning was also used to alleviate fears and concerns surrounding long-term needs and goals related to continued competence, independence, and maintenance of personal well-being. Expressive learning was meaningful in that it provided immediate gratification of needs and goals related to identity, affiliation, competence, and involvement in purposeful and useful activities.

This learning, which allowed for a margin of power, contributed to the completion of developmental tasks. Schlossberg (1985) identified six recurring themes in the works of all developmental theorists. These are: identity; intimacy and/or attachment; autonomy and life satisfaction; generativity; competency; and belonging vs. marginality. McClusky's theory of margin subscribes to the assumption that the positive confrontation and resolution of developmental tasks results in "successful adjustment." He further assumes that learning is essential in accomplishing those tasks. This was corroborated in the findings of this study.

Implications

The findings of this study indicate that learning is seldom an end in itself; instead it is a vehicle through which any number of personal and developmental needs and goals may be met. The coding scheme developed in this study has potential heuristic value for other studies exploring the role of learning in life transitions. Furthermore, by defining learning broadly to include both formal and informal learning, by focusing upon a particular life transition, and by examining the instrumental and expressive needs and goals of learners, this study has contributed to our understanding of why adults learn. This person-centered study enriches our understanding of instrumental and expressive orientations and demonstrates the value of this method for discovering the motivations and meanings underlying participation in any form of learning.

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The Effect of Literacy on Personal Income: Evidence from the, "Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities."

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The effect of literacy on personal income was examined by regression analysis with data from a representative national labour force sample. Increased literacy skills were not predicted to result in additional income for high school drop outs, and negligible benefits were predicted for high school graduates. It was suggested that job, not wage competition may function to prevent some workers from deriving income benefits from higher levels of literacy skills.

In 1989 Statistics Canada conducted a survey of the Canadian labour force to assess the functional reading, writing and numeracy skills of the adult population. For the first time Canadian researchers are able to access a representative national sample of the population[1] to investigate specific questions concerning the relationships among levels of functional literacy, levels of academic achievement, years of schooling, labour market activity and the personal and family characteristics of adults. This paper reports the early findings[2] of a study to determine the effects of literacy on personal income, using data from the "Survey of Literacy Skills Used in Daily Activities".

Investment in human capital has been an influential idea from the times of Adam Smith. Since the re-construction period following World War II, human investment theory has become a virtual economic ideology. Education has become the instrument of investment in human capital. The literature of economics has many examples of studies which estimate the economic rate of return for different levels of education. During the last twenty five years, with the arrival of the post-industrial economy, rapid technological change and information based technologies, the literacy movement has been "taken over" and incorporated into the economic strategies of neo-conservative governments, business and industry.

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[1] The sample is representative of the civilian, non native, non institutionalized, residents of Canada's ten provinces, between the ages of 16 and 69. The total sample consists of 9,455 cases representing a population of 18,023,946.

[2] Further analysis to determine the net effects of literacy after controlling several influential independent variables is needed to fully confirm the study findings.

The justification for the role of literacy programs, from the human capital investment (HCI) perspective, is that many, if not most, occupations today require a more literate work force. By raising workers' literacy levels they become more employable and business and industry becomes more efficient and profitable. Literacy therefore is an occupational skill which is in higher demand. The labour market functions by matching the demand for labour with the supply. Wage competition is the driving force of the labour market. According to traditional labour market theory competition among employers and workers results in the redistribution of workers (Thurow, 1977). Under wage competition highly literate workers will be paid higher wages to meet increased demand and under supply. The low literate workers will be paid lower wages reflecting reduced demand and over supply. Government support for literacy programs is based on the belief that demand for highly literate workers exceeds supply, and it is necessary for the health of the economy, to increase supply. If this interpretation holds true the data would reveal a significant relationship between literacy and income regardless of level of schooling. Moreover for industries where literacy skills are in high demand, the data ought to reveal no differences in income between persons with different levels of schooling and similar levels of literacy after controlling for occupation.

Sample[3], Methodology and Study variables.

Literacy was defined in the survey as, "The information processing skills necessary to use the printed material commonly encountered at work, at home, and in the community".[4] (Statistics Canada, 1990) Reading was assessed by an objective test (range 0-500, x=247, sd=55.7) which allowed each case to be assigned to one of four broad ability levels defined prior to data collection. An individual's level of literacy function was the highest ability level at which performance was consistent. (Jones, 1990)

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[3] For the purposes of this study only those cases with a record of employment during the 12 month period of the labour market survey were included. N= 6,850.

[4] The definition was applied to reading, writing and numeracy, this study is concerned solely with the reading test scores.

> "Canadians at: Level 1 have difficulty dealing with printed materials. They likely identify themselves as people who cannot read [test score <150]: Level 2 can use printed materials only for limited purposes such as finding a familiar word in a simple text. They would likely recognize themselves as having difficulties with common reading materials [150-204]: Level 3 can use reading materials in a variety of situations provided the material is simple, clearly laid out and the tasks are not too complex. While these people generally do not see themselves as having major reading difficulties, they tend to avoid situations requiring reading [205-244]: Level 4 meet most everyday reading demands. This is a large and diverse group which exhibits a wide range of reading skills [>245]."

Data Analysis.

The effect of education on income was estimated by simple linear regression and plotting the number of years of schooling completed against level of income.[5] The effect of years of schooling on income for each of the four levels of literacy is shown in Figure 1. The results tend to support the human capital investment model, higher incomes are associated with higher levels of schooling for each literacy group. While high literate persons with few years of schooling have incomes lower than less literate persons with the same level of education, these results are expected as women, a) have higher levels of schooling, b) comprise almost 60% of the labour force, c) earn on average only 64% as much as men, and d) occupy a large proportion of part time jobs. Also women with post secondary certificates earn less than male high school drop outs, and have higher levels of unemployment than males. These factors also result in the lowering of predictions at the higher income end of the scale. Most important to note however, is that the slope of the regression line for the high literate group is steeper than the other slopes indicating that they receive the highest income return per year of additional schooling. The other group which benefits is the illiterate group. Predicted incomes of the functional illiterates (level 2) merge with those of level 3. The slopes for these two groups are low indicating only very modest income gains can be expected from additional schooling.

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[5] Personal income includes income from wages, salary, self employment, government agencies. Income was coded by category: 1) < $5,000; 2) $5,000-$9,999; 3) $10,000-$14,999; 4) $15,000-$19,999; 5) $20,000-$29,999; 6) $30,000-$39,999.

Fig. 1: Annual Income by Years of Schooling for Respondents Categorized by Levels of Functional Literacy.

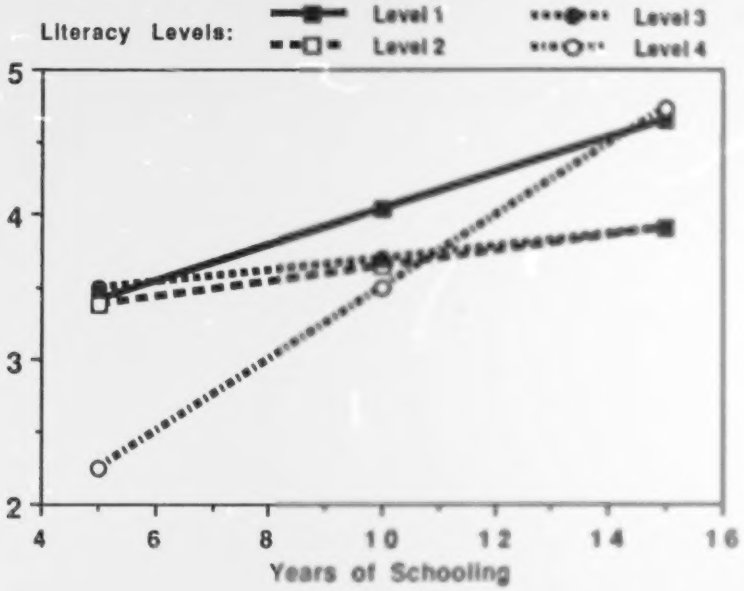
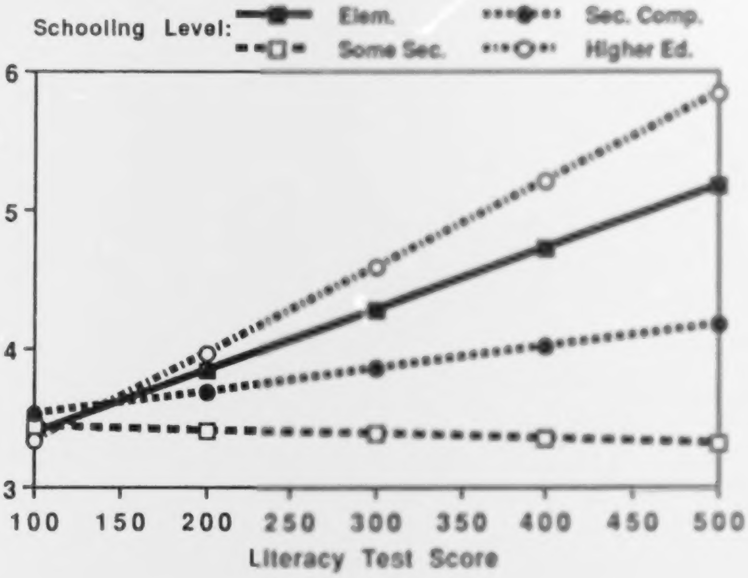


Fig. 2 Annual Income by Literacy Test Score for Respondents Categorized by Level of Schooling.



If vocational literacy program participants acquire skills in demand in the labour market they will expect to receive the benefits of increased labour market participation and higher wages predicted by the human capital model and "promised" by government, business and industry. To predict the increased income contributed by an increase in functional literacy, years of schooling was replaced by literacy test score in the regression equation. Figure 2 shows that the income benefits are not the same for each level of schooling. The benefits and rate of return are greatest for the higher and elementary education groups. A negligible increase is predicted for those who have completed high school and no increase is predicted for high school dropouts.

Table 1 summarizes the effects, and enables income returns to be computed. For example a high school graduate who scores 250 on the test would have an income of approximately $13,840.[6] An increase in literacy functioning to a score of 305 (1 s.d.) would result in an additional $440 (3.2%) for an income of $14,280 pa. The gain in score represents a move from the 50th to the 84th percentile, which is possible, but smaller gains are more likely to result from most programs.

Table 1. Income by Literacy Test Score for Four Levels of Schooling.

Schooling level	n	a	b	R	sig
Elementary	464	2.93	.0045	.1136	.01
Some Secondary	1601	3.47	-.0003	-.0056	.82
Secondary Grad	1437	3.37	.0270	.0270	.31
Post secondary	2311	2.69	.0959	.0959	.00
Total	6813	2.24	.1511	.1707	.00

For the majority of cases, (n= 3,038; levels 2 & 3), there is no significant financial benefit attributable to increased functional literacy. This may indicate that at the national labour market level job, not wage, competition is operating. In job competition the goal of industry is to train workers to achieve the desired levels of efficient production with the minimal training investment. Competition exists only for entry level jobs and workers are ranked, not always legally, on the basis of training potential as indicated by education credentials, age sex, ethnicity, psychological tests and literacy skills et cetera. Jobs are awarded on the basis of rank order in the queue (Thurow, 1977).

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[6] [a + (b x score)] = income category value.

Evidence from additional analyses reveals that variations in income are attributable to gender, nativity, and labour market participation (ft v pt). However the differential effects of literacy on income for different levels of schooling persist after controlling for these effects. Preliminary analyses of the effects of geographic location, industry and occupation also suggest the possibility of two related labour markets. One fits the HCI model and rewards literacy, the second characterised by low wages, offers no income benefit for literacy skills although they may be a requirement for employment[7].

Conclusions.

There is evidence that the human capital investment model does not apply broadly to literacy education. At the national labour market level job competition, not wage competition, may be acting to prevent workers benefitting financially from gains in literacy skills. Concern needs to be expressed that those most likely to be targetted for programs to improve worker performance, may not improve their incomes. In this case who will benefit most from literacy training programs? It is possible that additional literacy skills will enable workers to retain their current position in the labour market, or to "time-share" marginal, low pay jobs. If funding is redirected from programs with broad social goals, to work place literacy, the losers would be the small minority of workers who are illiterate. The beneficiaries would likely be the corporate community.

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[7] Lack of space prevents these analyses referred being reported in this paper.

POPULAR DISCOURSE CONCERNING WOMEN AND AIDS

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AIDS has devastated the populations of at least four African countries and half the HIV positive people are women. By 1991, HIV infection in North America was increasing amongst heterosexually active women and men while rates of infection amongst homosexual men appeared to have leveled off. AIDS could be the ultimate challenge for adult educators although, thus far, there has been a remarkable silence in mainstream adult education journals. Despite this, it has become increasingly apparent that AIDS-educators must confront a bewildering set of variables and "ways of thinking" about AIDS. Hence, the purpose of this paper is to examine discourse concerning AIDS in the popular press. It is assumed that "knowledge" about, and differential ways of construing AIDS, will greatly influence the conduct of AIDS education.

All fields have a widely-shared and taken-for-granted discourse used to communicate. The most prominent elements of discourse are widely shared symbols, concepts and slogans. These **central concepts** purport to describe **reality** but are merely categories that define it in certain ways and, moreover, usually serve some interests better than others. The way in which a community responds to and discusses AIDS reveals much about core cultural values and sexual ideology. Whereas AIDS discourse in Northern countries has depended upon homophobic and racist constructions, in the south it has been attributed to foreign or supernatural forces and engendered a paradigm of exclusion that puts women at the forefront of medico-legal discourse.

Discourse is never neutral. Some elements are included and **legitimized**; others are **excluded.** In North America discourse about AIDS has largely excluded women who will appreciate the irony of being categorized as "other" in discussion concerning homosexual men, Haitians and intravenous drug users. In a spirited critique concerning AIDS discourse, Treichler claimed that "the construction in the United States of AIDS as essentially a male-only, sexually transmitted disease depends upon the production and reproduction of gendered readings whose reasonings are so outlandish and speculative as to be dizzying" (1988, p. 194). Thus "knowledge" about AIDS filters out contrary evidence and has created a cycle of invisibility in which many women have come to think they are not vulnerable and thus fail to seek medical advice.

Discourse about AIDS has an impact on the quality of life, the quality of care and the language of compassion. How AIDS is construed has immense implications for the quality of care, the solidarity of non-infected people and the willingness of HIV positive people to cooperate with **prevention** programs. Just as comparing a bombing raid on Baghdad with Christmas lights, the fourth of July or a football match shapes attitudes about war, AIDS discourse moulds individual attitudes, collective behaviour and social policy.

Epidemiology

By November, 1989, the **World Health Organization** (Mann, 1989) estimated that six million people were HIV-infected. In sub-Saharan Africa and parts of the Caribbean over 1.5 million women were infected. Mann claimed the number of HIV-infected women was "growing rapidly". As a consequence of HIV-infection in women, the WHO estimated that up to 200,000 infants had been infected through perinatal transmission. In late 1989 the WHO (Mann, 1989) was predicting that "more women are expected to become ill with AIDS during the next two years than developed AIDS during the first decade of the pandemic". In New York City AIDS is the leading killer of women between the ages of 25 and 34.

Mann (1989) also reported that, in heavily infected areas like Kampala, Uganda, 24 percent of pregnant women were HIV-positive. In orphanages in Port-au-Prince, Haiti, 55 percent of the children less than 18 months old were HIV-positive and, in New York City, it was estimated that in "this generation, 50,000-100,000 children "will lose or have already lost one parent to AIDS". Yet, according to Mann (1989), "these rates and statistics fail to convey the impact of HIV infection in women ... the destruction of families, the poison of discrimination and prejudice, the fear and reality of abandonment." Moreover, whereas industrialized countries are thought to report 90 percent of their AIDS cases, Chin (1989), the chief of Forecasting and Surveillance at the **World Health Organization**, claimed that only ten percent of cases in developing countries are reported.

Constructing AIDS

AIDS might be the biggest health crisis of the twentieth century and is debilitating, lethal and mysterious. Yet the relationship between **language** and **reality** has to be viewed with caution. "AIDS" does not just label a condition or virus but is a **construct** which helps "make sense" of it. Educators cannot search for the **real** AIDS. Instead they should be looking at various struggles to represent its multiple meanings. Educators should pay as much attention to works like Sontag's (1989) examination of metaphors associated with AIDS, as well as "objective" studies concerning the virus and transmission patterns. None of this means AIDS is just a linguistic construction that only exists in people's minds. Far from it. It has an objective "reality" and people are dying. Yet the way this disease is discussed can influence relationships to it and our ability to learn or teach about it.

Only ten years have elapsed since the first cases of AIDS were reported in North America but even in this short time discourse has been differently framed. The **World Health Organization** (1989) characterized the mid-1970's to 1982 as the **silent** phase during which HIV "spread unnoticed" to five continents. From roughly 1981 to 1985 there was a period of discovery (of the virus, modes of transmission, numbers infected). The next phase began in 1985 when WHO drafted a "global strategy" for AIDS prevention and this presaged the next phase - the "global mobilization" against AIDS. In February, 1987 the WHO **Global Program on AIDS** (GPA) was established to give effect to the Global AIDS

Strategy. By October, 1989, GPA was working in 150 countries and had distributed $60 million (USD) to 127 of them.

Discourse about AIDS has occurred in a wide variety of places and forms. The purpose of the following analysis is not designed to identify each thread in the complex discourse on AIDS. Rather, it is to posit central **themes** or **tropes** that appear to lie at the centre of popular discourse. Note that emergence of a new discourse does not completely dislodge the earlier one. Rather, AIDS discourse is becoming differentiated. New discourse builds on or modifies the old. It is like waves breaking on a beach. Each wave develops a crest, breaks and collapses into the one that arrived before. For example, by 1991 there was an emerging discourse on classism and racism but echoes of the "gay plague" were still heard. Thus while the following tropes are presented in a particular order it is not suggested that each entirely replaces the other.

I. Gay Plague Discourse

The first cases of AIDS in North America were reported by Gottlieb and Shandera in the **Morbidity and Mortality Weekly Report** for June 5, 1981, published by the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia. Curran, the head of the CDC's venereal disease division, had labelled the Gottlieb manuscript "Hot stuff. Hot stuff" (Shilts, 1987). The men who died from the first reported cases were all homosexual and had many sexual contacts and multiple sexually transmitted diseases. What was first called **gay pneumonia** or **gay cancer** became known as GRID (**Gay-Related Immunodeficiency**). Following the first reports in the MMWR and other journals, the same rare disease began to show up in non-homosexual groups - hemophiliacs, intravenous drug users and people who had recently had blood transfusions. By 1982 there were enough heterosexuals with the disease to contradict the GRID notion so, in 1982 "AIDS" (Acquired Immuno-Deficiency Syndrome) was chosen at a conference in Washington, D.C. Throughout 1982, there was discussion concerning the 4-H groups (homosexuals, heroin addicts, Haitians, hemophiliacs) and, in 1983, their sexual partners. But it was the so-called gay plague that dominated discourse. The central assumption of this discourse was that you get AIDS by being a certain person, not because of what you do.

II. The "Contaminated Other" Discourse

Every plague in human history has created a situation where the afflicted are seen as "other". Indeed, many newspapers published little about AIDS until "innocent victims" could be identified and it was these that caused **U.S. News and World Report** (January, 1987) to proclaim that "the disease of **them** is (now) the disease of **us**". What had now emerged was a pattern later captured by the title of Sabatier's (1988) book Blaming Others. The AIDS crisis evoked echoes of earlier epidemics. In 1832 many Americans said cholera was the scourge of the sinful. "Respectable" people had nothing to fear and there was a strong link between moral judgement and vulnerability to disease. Cholera was seen to be an inevitable and inescapable judgement of God.

Foucalt has shown that discourse concerning the body is inevitably linked with those of religion and medicine (Turner, 1987) and the mystery associated with AIDS and the apparent inevitably of death has provided the radical-right with an opportunity to project their worst fears concerning Communists, the wrath of God, or, in Asia, degenerate "Westerners." Conservative columnist William F. Buckley Jr. proposed that persons with AIDS be tattooed (an idea he modified after a friend died of AIDS - see Newsweek, August 18, 1986). In case any doubt about the "otherness" of HIV infected people remained, Jerry Falwell (in his Liberty Report for April, 1987) said "AIDS is a lethal judgement of God on America for endorsing this vulgar ... lifestyle." Archbishop John Foley, of San Francisco, used the eve of a Papal visit to the U.S.A. to announce that AIDS is a form of "natural selection" against homosexual behaviour (Vancouver Sun, Sept. 10, 1987). In South Africa, the Foreign Minister declared that the "terrorists are now coming to us with a weapon more terrible than Marxism - AIDS" (Sontag, 1989). At this time discourse was firmly anchored in conservatism, homophobia, denial and fear and as Isay noted (Vancouver Sun, July 21, 1987), "this kind of scapegoating ... is common whenever a majority feels threatened, frustrated and helpless."

By the end of 1984 there was evidence that AIDS was caused by a virus. The discovery of the virus caused the U.S. Secretary of Health and Human Services to say that AIDS must now be stopped before it spread to the "general population." As Shilts (1987) noted, this earned her the title of "Secretary of Health and Heterosexual Services." While the virus was appropriated to support existing theory (such as the notion AIDS was started by the CIA, Marxists or God), its discovery altered the discourse. Credible authorities said that AIDS was transmitted because of what people do, not because of who they are.

III. Rock Hudson and "Innocent Victim" Discourse

In the summer of 1985 Rock Hudson acknowledged he was being treated for AIDS and, for the popular press, this seemed to signal that the "general population" was at risk. In the January, 1986 Ms. Magazine Van Gelder observed that Rock Hudson was "the seeming epitome of Hollywood hetero hunkdom," and while he "humanized" the issue, the subsequent media blitz made millions recognize that a scary epidemic was going on "right under their nose". AIDS was now a threat to "all of us." It could be transmitted through heterosexual intercourse and other sexual activities to and from both men and women.

Mass circulating magazines put multiple versions of the AIDS story on the cover. In Canada, AIDS became the MacLeans magazine cover story on January 12, 1987 ("Age of Precautions"). It was on the cover again on August 31, 1987 with an ominous black background headlined "Aids and Sex" announcing that "The deadly plague of AIDS is spreading with frightening swiftness (and) the panic level is rising." On March 14, 1988, Newsweek ran a similar cover which announced that "AIDS is breaking out. The AIDS virus is now running rampant in the heterosexual community." The popular press now secured the cooperation of "innocent victims."

Time magazine headlined an AIDs story on January 25, 1988, as the "Plague of the Innocents." MacLeans, August 31, 1987, ran a story on an

Ontario woman who had received a transfusion of contaminated blood and now lay in a "darkened apartment" where traffic noises were filtered through "red velour curtains." In August, 1987, People magazine provided the "Anatomy of a Hate Campaign" - the story of three Florida boys who became HIV-positive from infected blood. Neighbours attempted to get the kids thrown out of school and on August 28, 1987, the family home was destroyed by fire in suspicious circumstances.

Between the summer of 1985 when Rock Hudson dominated discourse and summer 1987 when "innocent victim" discourse was at a peak, there had been no significant scientific breakthroughs concerning the disease. "The facts" had not changed. What had changed was the way in which AIDS was construed and presented to the public.

IV. Heterosexual-Risk Discourse

The March 14, 1988 issue of Newsweek exemplified one side of the "heterosexual-risk" discourse and quoted journalists who claimed a "great heterosexual AIDS hoax" had been perpetrated to secure support for homosexuals and drug addicts. This discourse was concerned about people Newsweek characterized as "heterosexuals who watch anxiously on the cool side of the firebreak as the AIDS virus burns through communities of gay men, intravenous drug abusers and their lovers" (March 14, 1988, p. 42). On the one side of this discourse was Cosmopolitan magazine that said unfounded warnings threatened liberated sexuality and announced (in a January, 1988 issue) that "there is almost no danger of contracting AIDS through ordinary sexual intercourse."

This view was supported by Shilts, author of And the Band Played On who, in People magazine (March 14, 1988), claimed the "media has engaged in shameless type" about the threat to heterosexuals. For Shilts, AIDS was "very specific" to certain sociological groups and geographical locations. For example, the rate of infection in the Bronx approached that in Central Africa. AIDS was becoming a disease of the underclass.

On the other side was Masters, Johnson and Kolodny (1988) whose "grim warning for straight society" was reprinted in Newsweek (March 14, 1988). Their imagery was as ominous as some of the Canadian and American magazine covers at this time. "The epidemic has clearly broken out into the broader population and is continuing, even now, to make its silent inroads of infection while many maintain an attitude of complacency, not realizing that they too are at risk."

V. "Development" Discourse

Shilts' statements about the underclass presaged the arrival of the "development" discourse on AIDS which prompted the Vancouver Sun to run features an AIDS in Africa and "An Atlas of (a) Spreading Tragedy" September 2, 1990. Earlier, Women's World of June 18, 1988, claimed that discourse on AIDS was now characterized by "the new wisdom, combining compassion and rationality that holds we are all at risk". AIDS is not racist, classist, sexist or even ageist". In other words AIDS is not prejudiced."

Despite the notion all are equal in the face of AIDS, the June, 1988 Women's World claimed it would be inaccurate to ignore "underlying issues" dramatically highlighted by AIDS. Like many diseases, AIDS hits the poor hardest. Malnutrition, poor sanitation, chronic infections, overwork and stress, all weaken the immune system. Thus Africans with AIDS have only a few weeks to live while, in the west, the average is two years. In the USA a black AIDS victim can expect to live nineteen weeks compared to two or three years for a white person. Women, who are grossly overrepresented amongst the world's poor, will be hard hit.

Again, the "facts" of AIDS had not changed much but discourse was now becoming preoccupied with a disease of development. Miller and Carballo (1989) directly linked AIDS with so-called "development processes" as did participants at the **Sexuality Workshop** (IDRC, 1989). Most AIDS patients from "underdeveloped" countries are heterosexual and do not inject drugs. But their condition can be linked to societal factors like poor sanitation, crowded conditions and malnutrition that increases the likelihood of exposure to HIV, high rates of venereal diseases (which facilitate exchange of contaminated fluids), the lack of adequate blood-screening tests and the widespread use of unsterilized hypodermic needles that have accompanied the imported "western" practice of giving "shots" for every disease. This "development" discourse is not confined to Africa and the Caribbean because there is a strong correlation between AIDS and poverty in North America.

Women's Invisibility

By now most women's magazines have run at least one "what should you do about AIDS" story even though it is sometimes treated on the same level as cooking and cosmetics. In many papers and certain "women's magazines," female actors in the AIDS story are often cast in traditional roles, such as loyal spouse, wronged lover, loving mother.

Treichler (1988) asked why women have not defined AIDS as a woman's illness and posits three responses. First, women have not claimed their share of the discourse on AIDS because of **denial.** It is unthinkable that AIDS could be unleashed on the entire population (men **and** women) and there is hope the virus will be contained within the 4-H groups (homosexuals, heroin users, hemophiliacs, Haitians) already infected. Although millions will die at least the virus will not creep into the "general population."

Secondly, there is the problem of **feminizing** AIDS at this stage. Various writers (such as Shilts, 1987) have noted how initial reports of infected children were rejected because, by definition, GRID was a "gay disease." There is also the idea that women are not needed in this discourse because homosexual men are occupying the role of **contaminated other.**

Homosexual men also provide most of the volunteer workforce that does counselling, arranges support, produces publications and educational material and almost entirely dominate the agenda of **Persons With Aids** organizations. In these circumstances how can women renegotiate images and ways of understanding AIDS that are tightly woven into the cultural fabric of male homosexuality?

Conclusion

Conceptualizations concerning AIDS, and advice given about preventing it, always occur in the context of deeply rooted and socio-culturally determined ways of construing the world. There is an ideological dimension to AIDS and educators concerned about it might ask questions like: Who produced this "knowledge" about AIDS and why? Who contributed to the processes used to produce this "knowledge" and who benefits from these interpretations? Who is omitted in the process? Who is excluded and why?

Having AIDS in an industrialized country is bad enough, but having it in, say, Africa, is like living in a nightmare of a third world within the third world. Knowing about AIDS could be a matter of life and death. The problem is that educators must develop an **understanding** of how AIDS is construed before "knowledge" can be conveyed to learners. Ways of construing AIDS have a lot to do with patterns of power and privilege, fear and scapegoating. Nevertheless it is hoped that this analysis, which has focussed on women, will spur others to take an interest in this problem.

Even though people in developing countries have long suffered from AIDS, the discourse on "development" has just begun and, as the people at **World Education** (1990) and other places outside the academic mainstream demonstrated, adult education is well-placed to contribute.

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JOHN STEINBECK'S LEARNING PROJECT: SELF-DIRECTION AND STRUGGLE IN WRITING THE GRAPES OF WRATH

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Abstract: Throughout the process of writing The Grapes of Wrath, John Steinbeck kept a journal where he reflected on his work and life during this intense period of creativity. Through content analysis of Steinbeck's journal and related materials, this study seeks to offer new insights relative to three common misconceptions about self-direction in learning.

INTRODUCTION

Few areas have received more attention in adult education over the past two decades than self-direction in learning. Still, there remain many gaps in the knowledge base relative to the nature of self-direction. To date, research has followed several streams of inquiry, including learning projects studies, investigations using instruments designed to measure levels of self-direction, and several different qualitative approaches (Brockett & Hiemstra, 1991). Included in this latter approach have been studies based on content analysis of biographical materials from individuals deemed to characterize aspects of self-direction (e.g., Gibbons, et al., 1980; Cavaliere, 1990). These studies show how new insights can be gained from studying the lives of individuals who exemplify the spirit of self-direction.

Between May and October of 1938, John Steinbeck wrote The Grapes of Wrath (1939), the story of the fictional Joad family and their migration from the depression-era dust bowl of Oklahoma to the "promised land" of California. Throughout the process of writing The Grapes of Wrath, Steinbeck regularly kept a journal, where he shared thoughts on the book's progress and about his life during this time. This journal was published in 1989, in a volume edited by Robert DeMott entitled Working Days: The Journals of The Grapes of Wrath (DeMott, 1989). Thus, in Steinbeck's own words, we have a first person account of the thoughts, struggles, and routines that made up the author's life during this most intense period of creativity.

PURPOSE AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study is to gain new insights into self-direction in learning by examining the process through which Steinbeck created The Grapes of Wrath. It will be argued that this example offers evidence to refute three common misconceptions about self-direction: 1) such learning activities take place in isolation; 2) the process of self-direction is always a joyous and stress-free experience; and 3) because self-direction is so focused on the individual, it tends to ignore values of social commitment and responsibility.

A case study approach was utilized, involving content analysis of relevant documents. This method was selected because, as Merriam (1988) describes case study, the research focuses upon a single, specific entity - the process through which a single individual developed a single creative work. The primary sources of information were Steinbeck's journal and editor's notes (DeMott, 1989), and Steinbeck's biography (Benson, 1984).

At least two previous studies have used a content analysis approach to gain new insights into self-direction. Gibbons, et al. (1980) analyzed the content of 20 biographies of individuals who had become expert in a particular area without formal training beyond the high school level. Included were such diverse individuals as Aaron Copeland, Walt Disney, Harry S. Truman, Virginia Woolf, and Malcolm X. Content analysis revealed 20 major characteristics shared by these individuals, such as experience, perseverance, autonomy, curiosity, self-discipline, and creativity. Interestingly, Steinbeck demonstrated most of the 20 characteristics during the process of writing The Grapes.

In a second study, Cavaliere (1989, 1990) examined biographical and historical data over a 28-year period in order to describe the learning processes utilized by the Wright brothers in their invention of the airplane. She concluded that the learning took place in a cyclical (rather than linear) manner, with interest "waxing and waning," but increasing in intensity over time (1990, p. 46); learning did not occur in isolation; and the long-range outcome was clearly defined at the outset of the project.

It is important to raise three points relative to methodology. First, the present study must be viewed as exploratory, since most findings have been derived from a single source. It is merely one example, based on a single, albeit important episode in the life of one person. Thus, it might be appropriate to think of this more as a "case illustration" than a case study.

Second, the study is based on the assumption, which was noted earlier, that The Grapes of Wrath represents an example of a successful learning project. While the book has not been without its critics, it has widely been hailed as a "classic" of American literature and can, by any number of criteria, be deemed a "successful" project. For instance, De Mott (1989) has described the book as "one of the most enduring works of fiction by any American author" (p. xxi). The book won the National Book Award and Pulitzer Prize in fiction, and was largely the basis for Steinbeck receiving the 1962 Nobel prize in Literature.

Third, the intent of this study is to look at insights derived from the actual process of writing the book. It is not intended to be viewed as a study in literary criticism relative to the book or its author.

THE MYTH OF ISOLATION

A common misconception about self-directed learning is that such activity takes place in isolation, where the learner works alone without contact with other learners. While self-directed learning sometimes does take this form, more often than not, such learning is much more of an interactive process (Brockett & Hiemstra, 1991).

Steinbeck, through the process of writing The Grapes of Wrath, offers an example of how the myth of isolation can be perpetrated. To be sure, the actual process of putting words onto paper took place in solitude. As DeMott (1989) has stated, when Steinbeck entered "his writerly posture," he was able to create a "disciplined working rhythm" and "a sense of continuity and cohabitation with his material" (p. xxxi). However, the months spent in writing The Grapes was actually the culmination of a journey that had begun two years earlier.

On August 1936, Steinbeck was invited to write a series of newspaper articles on migrant farm labor in California. To gain information for these articles, he toured a number of squatters camps in the San Joaquin Valley. Benson (1984) notes that "the poverty and filth of these encampments appalled him" (p. 332). As he continued in his travels, Steinbeck met Tom Collins, who had been involved in the "sanitary-camp program," one of the few government-funded programs designed to provide the migrants with decent treatment and a chance "to regain their health and self-respect" (Benson, 1984, p. 338). Collins became a mentor to Steinbeck, and the descriptions of his experiences with the migrants provided much of the material from which Steinbeck drew in his writing. Prior to beginning The Grapes, Steinbeck engaged in three writing projects: a seven-part series of newspaper articles, an unfinished novel, and a completed satire, L'Affaire Lettuceberg, which Steinbeck eventually destroyed. The point is that the solitude of writing came only after a wide range of activities over a two-year period.

There is another element to the myth of isolation in this case illustration. This might be best described by the popular phase "life goes on." Steinbeck's journal reveals that while he was able to create the periods of solitude necessary to write the book, and while it was often difficult for him to walk "back into the domestic world from the world of imagination" (DeMott, 1989, p. xxi) during this time, it is clear that the routine of daily living was also a very real part of the author's life. For example, at one point, Steinbeck wrote in his journal, "There are four things or five rather to write through...If I get this book done it will be remarkable" (DeMott, 1989, p. 51). Here, he was referring to his wife's recent tonsillectomy, the bankruptcy of his publisher, a filmmaker's interest in adapting an earlier book for the screen, and trying to decide whether to buy a new home. These themes, and a host of other distractions surface continuously throughout the journal. In other words, it took a tremendous amount of self-discipline to continue producing an average of 2000 words a day in the face of so many distractions.

STRUGGLE AND SELF-DOUBT

Perhaps in part because of linkages to humanistic thought, with its positive view of human nature and human potential, there seems to be a misconception that self-directed learning processes are free of struggle, frustration, and pain. According to Brookfield (1988, p. 21), "the view of learning enshrined in this paradigm is one that emphasizes the joyful, conflict-free release of the individual's boundless potential." However, he holds that such is not always the case.

In Steinbeck's journal, one of the most frequently recurring themes is a constant self-criticism. The following examples highlight the sense of struggle and self-doubt through which Steinbeck produced his novel (DeMott, 1989):

> June 18--"If I could only do this book properly it would be one of the really fine books and a truly American book. But I am assailed with my own ignorance and ability." (p. 29)
>
> July 7--"Strange how I'm fighting this book now. I think it is about to change now though because I am feeling more and more like work. The despair came on me for a while but although still nervous from it I think I am recovering." (p. 39).
>
> August 16--"I'm not a writer. I've been fooling myself and other people. I wish I were. This success will ruin me sure as hell." (p. 56)
>
> September 26--"This book has become a misery to me because of my inadequacy." (p. 76)

While the journal entries clearly show that writing the book was physically and emotionally draining, and while words of self-doubt are found throughout the journal, it is clear that determination and self-discipline were also very much present. Perhaps Steinbeck used negative self-talk as a motivating technique. Many of the daily entries end with a positive comment, for example: "Turtle sequence [Chapter Three] stands up" (p. 21); "Finished and I have a good feeling about today's work" (p. 40); "Got her, by God" (p. 60); "I made it!" (p. 63). And on the day Steinbeck completed the last chapter, "Finished this day--and I hope to God it's good" (p. 93).

The struggle did not end when the book actually appeared in print. While the book brought "fame, notoriety, and success" (DeMott, 1989, p. 97), Steinbeck also entered a difficult period after completing the book. Health problems, marriage difficulties, and threats from those antagonized by the book are three examples. More important, though, the book forever changed its author (Benson, 1984). As DeMott (1989, p. xivi) speculates, Steinbeck "was so nearly unraveled in the process that the unique qualities. . . that made his art exemplary in the first place could never be repeated with the same integrated force." Of course, Steinbeck continued in his career as a successful writer, but there is some evidence that The Grapes was a creative peak never to be reached again by Steinbeck.

INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF SELF-DIRECTION

Still another issue relative to self-direction that has been misunderstood is the belief that self-direction tends to emphasize the individual while neglecting the social context in which learning takes place. Brookfield (1984) and Candy (1988) have both addressed this concern in some detail. Where the misconception can arise is in the attempt to set up a false dichotomy between individual and social emphases in adult learning. Lindemann (1926) provides insight into this false dichotomy by stating: "Adult education will become an agency of progress if the short-time goal of self-improvement can be made compatible with a long-time experimental but resolute policy of changing the social order" (p. 105).

Clearly, the illustration of Steinbeck writing The Grapes of Wrath is one of an individual engaged in a very personal creative process. Yet it is also clear that the motives behind undertaking the project were largely humanitarian. Steinbeck was deeply moved and disturbed by what he saw in the migrant camps and this seems to have been the driving force behind the writing of The Grapes. Writing, quite simply, was the best way Steinbeck knew to help create greater awareness of the problem.

CONCLUSION

The intent of this study was to examine the process through which John Steinbeck created The Grapes of Wrath as an illustration of a self-directed learning project that offers insights into three misconceptions relative to self-direction. Three tentative conclusions are offered. First, in order to understand writing as a form of self-directed learning activity, it may make sense to think of writing as an outcome of a learning process. The Steinbeck example reveals a writer who engaged in an extensive learning effort, which provided him with the raw material for his artistic effort. Second, the illustration offers evidence to show how the learning and creative process can be a very personal struggle. Learning is not always a care-free, joyous process. Third, while self-direction does typically imply an emphasis on the individual, it is not necessarily devoid of social goals. This exploratory study helped show the potential value of biography as a tool for adult learning research; it is suggested that the biographical case study may be a useful method for gaining insights into many areas of adult learning and development.

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FACULTY CAREERS OF PROFESSORS OF ADULT EDUCATION: YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW

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Abstract: The purpose of this study was to explore the careers of faculty members in adult education who are employed by colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. The findings are discussed within six broad categories, followed by a discussion of the results.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to explore the careers of faculty members in adult education who are employed by colleges and universities in the United States and Canada. Among the key research questions that were addressed were the following: What influenced this group of professors to choose the career of a college professor? What constitutes this group's current role as faculty members (teaching, research, service) and in general, do they perceive themselves as doing a decent job in this role? Has this group of professors ever felt stuck in their career and if so, why? Have these professors carved out niches for themselves as faculty? How satisfied is this group of faculty with their careers and what makes them satisfied? And how have other aspects of their lives, such as home and family commitments, affected their careers? The study was grounded in an extensive review of literature on faculty development and adult development (eg., Bowen & Schuster, 1986; Caffarella, Armour, Fuhrmann, & Wergin, 1989; Clark & Lewis, 1985; Eble & McKeachie 1985; Schuster, Wheeler & Assos, 1990) as well as a similar earlier study of senior faculty from a wide range of academic disciplines (Armour, Caffarella, Fuhrmann, & Wergin, 1989a, 1989b).

Methodology

The methodology use for this study was survey research. Questionnaires were mailed to all full members of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education. The questionnaire was a modified version of one use in a previous study that had been reviewed for both content and face validity (Armour, Caffarella, Fuhrmann, & Wergin, 1989a). A usable return rate of 76 percent (166) was achieved. Data analysis was first completed by frequency counts and means. Relationships between and among variables were computed via chi square analysis, t-tests, and analysis of variance, depending on the nature of the data under study. The findings are discussed within six broad categories: Who are we? Where did we come from? What are we doing now? How satisfied are we with what we are doing now? What are the major life issues that have affected our careers? And where do we want to go?

Who are We?

The average age of adult education professors is 50 years. Seventy-six percent are male; 24% are female, with the vast majority of the female professors at the assistant and the associate ranks. Even at these two ranks, the ratio of male professors to female professors is two to one. Minority group members constitute only 5% of the group, with all holding rank of assistant or associate professor. Most are located at doctoral granting institutions, although more women professors are found at non-doctoral level colleges and universities. Forty percent are full professors, 42% are associate professors, and 16% hold the assistant professor rank. A large majority (70%) of professors of adult education are tenured. Nineteen percent of the remaining professor are untenured, but on tenure tracks, while 11% hold non-tenure track position. It is obvious that adult educator professors are under-represented in terms of minority faculty members and women in the full professor ranks. They are also bunched up in age at mid-career with a large percentage of tenured members. This phenomena could translate into a highly stable group of faculty for at least the next ten to fifteen years, unless alternative sources of funding are acquired. This leaves few openings for new faculty to join their ranks through the 1990's.

Where Did We Come From?

The majority (68%) of adult education faculty decided to become professors during graduate school, with the younger professors more often choosing and exercising this option. They were mostly attracted by the academic life style (67%), the desire to teach (55%) and the encouragement of a mentor (50%). Although the desire to do research was given as one of the incentives for entering the professorate, it did not surface as one of the most important reasons. A large majority (71%) have held position at more than one institution, but only 41% of these were faculty positions on contract. The remaining were administrative, adjunct, or temporary in nature. Three-quarters have pursued careers outside of academe, with most of these careers being related or somewhat related to the field. It appears that although adult education faculty have engaged in other career paths prior to becoming professors, they are now for the most part entering the profession immediately after graduate school, which has been the traditional route for most.

What We Doing Now?

Adult education faculty indicated they spend about an average of 53 hours a week on the job. They spend about 40% of their time teaching, 19% in research, 17% in service, 20% in administration, and 4% in other activities. Faculty rated themselves excellent in teaching, very good in service, and good to very good in research. As a group they perceive of all three roles of teaching, research and service as important activities, with teaching receiving the highest rating of importance. In contrast, they believe their institutions view research as their most important activity, followed by teaching and then service. When asked to list their three most important professional accomplishments, 34% of the entries dealt with teaching related activities, 32% with service, and 20% with research.

Three-fourths of the adult education professors indicated they have developed a "niche" for themselves within the institution, with that niche being fairly evenly distributed among teaching, research, and service. Almost as many (68%) indicated having developed a niche beyond the institution. Of these, the greatest percent of these niches related to service to the profession and service in general.

A fair number of tenured faculty (27%) have felt "stuck" professionally at some point since they received tenure, with three-quarters of these same professors indicating they are currently feeling somewhat or definitely in a career rut. The most common reasons given for this sense of stuckness included diminished energy, conflict with administration, lack of funding, no clear personal goals, lack of opportunity, being outside the "in group", lessened professional opportunities, and low departmental status.

It appears that teaching is key to our current work, both in terms of actual time and importance. Teaching received both the highest self-ratings and was listed as the top accomplishment (followed closely by service). Research is also important, but these faculty spend about half the time doing this activity and also see themselves as only good to very good in this area, in contrast to viewing themselves as excellent teachers. The major dichotomy here is the way adult education faculty both view and carry out their roles versus perceived institutional priorities (research being of prime importance).

How Satisfied Are We With What We Are Doing Now?

The vast majority of adult education faculty (95%) are very or somewhat satisfied with their careers as professors. Only a very small minority (5%) were not satisfied. They tended to be more satisfied with some aspects of their career lives than others. Their greatest satisfaction came from the following aspects of their jobs: working with students, service to others, use of their abilities, variety of the work, job security, seeing the results of their work, and the freedom to pursue their own professional interests. They are less satisfied with their present resource base and higher level administration. In addition, those faculty members that were the most satisfied with their careers also felt a greater sense community with their colleagues, most often had one or more career mentors, and fit more into the institutional mode of what was expected of them in terms of their roles as researchers and scholars.

What Are the Major Life Issues that Have Affected Our Careers?

Adult education faculty tend to agree that they are re-examining their lives more now, that they are more committed to their work, and that they are thinking about their legacy. They also believe they are more vital, have more diverse opportunities, but also that their work load is heavier than ever before. For the most part they do not necessarily wonder "if this is all there is" and they are not becoming bored or restless.

On issues concerning the relationship between their professional and personal lives, they tend to agree that their personal lives come first, although a sizable minority (25%) disagree with this view. These faculty members had mixed feelings on whether they could in actuality subordinate their work activities to other aspects of their lives, with forty percent of them finding it difficult to do so. Approximately a fourth of the respondents had experienced a major life change within the last three years: a child moving out, serious illness in the family, death of a close relative or friend, and death of a parent.

Where Do We Want to Go?

About one in four adult education faculty would move to another institution or alternative career if they had the option. Seventeen percent are actually making plans to move to another college or university, while twelve percent are actively making plans to leave academe. Those in the lower ranks (especially assistant professors) are more likely to be making plans to move and/or change careers.

Close to three-fourths of these faculty want to do something professionally that they have not yet done; of these the majority (71%) indicated a research or other scholarly/creative activity. Barriers to doing this included: time pressure from work, inadequate funds, and personal time pressure.

When asked how they would spend five additional hours per week, the group was split between a job-related activity (primarily research or other scholarly endeavor) and personal leisure or family activities. Thirty-seven percent anticipate retiring early, 25% at age 65, and 38% after age 65.

Observations and Discussion.

Adult Education professors appear to be similar to other groups of professors in higher education in terms of faculty age and rank. This predominate trend of professors being primarily mid-career and tenured is what has been popularly called the "graying" of the professorate (Clark & Lewis, 1985). This has allowed for very little movement into the field by new assistant professors and, as noted earlier, this trend of older, "tenured in" faculty will affect the faculty composition for at least the next decade. A critical area this trend will continually affect is the obvious lack of minority representation within the ranks of adult education professors. Again this is a problem endemic not only to adult education, but to higher education in general. It continues to be difficult to recruit and retain minority faculty, and this problem is compounded when only a very few positions are available. As professors of adult education appear to be primarily coming directly out of graduate school, the role of mentor and sponsor, especially for minority candidates, is crucial.

In relationship to the current work activities of adult education professors, especially in terms of their own perceptions of those activities, this group mirrors the current sentiment in higher education of the growing importance and emphasis on teaching (The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1989). Yet, as the majority of these faculty are located in doctoral granting institutions, they are, for the most part, under intense pressure to have a major program of research. It appears these professors "buy into" their perceived institutional value of the overriding importance of research in describing future tasks (primarily scholarly in nature) they still wish to complete. The question could be asked as to whether they value research as critical to their roles as professors, or whether they just bow to institutional norms and systems of tenure and promotion. Would perhaps at least some of this group of professors like to continue to have or refocus their work primarily on teaching without having to sacrifice their career advancement? Even in this climate of educational reform, is this a realistic career option?

On the whole, adult education faculty appear in general to be more satisfied with their careers when compared with the results of other studies of professors in higher education (Bowen & Schuster, 1986; Schuster, Wheeler & Assoc., 1990). The major differences between these faculty and faculty in other studies of faculty satisfaction is that those who tend to be somewhat versus very satisfied were the younger faculty and assistant professors, whereas in most other studies it was the mid-career faculty that were portrayed as being less satisfied. What does this mean in terms of our new faculty induction process? Are these newer and younger faculty having a more difficult time of moving into this mostly mid-career and senior group? Has "the community" of adult education professors become more of a closed society? On the other side of the picture is whether this lesser sense of satisfaction is a result of the enormous pressures most institutions place on assistant professors. Are the expectations (both self and institutionally imposed) of assistant professors unrealistic, especially in our present resource-poor environments?

The last observation centers on the question of how other aspects of these professors' lives, such as home and family commitment, have affected their careers. Although a list was obtained of those life issues, the depth of the interrelationship between work and "other" life aspects was not adequately addressed by this study. For example, even though about 25% of the respondents had experienced a major life event in the last three years, it is not known if or how these life events impacted their careers. What is needed to better focus on this important issue is a different kind of research approach which allows the researcher and the respondent to explore more in depth the integration of career and other life issues and events. This could be done in a variety of ways, from individual interviews to having professors keep personal journals during critical transitions in their lives.

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RACISM IN CANADA: A CONCEPTUAL OUTLINE

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Abstract: This is a study of how Canadian literature on racism and race relations deals with the concept of racism in a way that is relevant to the socio-political context of anti-racist interventions in adult education. The analysis organizes the writers' conceptions of the phenomenon of racism as a phenomenon, and discusses this in terms of social change as an equilibrium/conflict continuum.

Background

This study is the first part of a larger investigation of the phenomenology of racism in Canada. Its focus is the ideological and theoretical underpinnings of the way race and racism are spoken about in Canadian sociology and adult education. Racism is an increasingly critical factor in social and political interaction in Canada. Social analysts and educators have lamented the failure of the policy of multiculturalism to induce cultural, ethnic and racial harmony among Canadians. Canadian adult educators need to consider issues of policy, approaches in the classroom, and learning content with respect to racism and race relations. This requires a good understanding of the philosophical and ideological bases of theory in this area. Racism and race relations are issues that should be openly explored and debated. It is important that educators know where they stand in that debate.

Assumptions

Like Miles (1989), I assert that racism is a political and ideological construct, in the same way that race is a socially constructed categorization of people and groups (Li, 1988). This view locates academic discussion of racism as part of a wider political debate in which the concept of racism is the "object of political and ideological struggle" (Miles, 1989:4). Racism, however defined, is considered morally unacceptable by the dominant liberal political ideologies of North America. In this sense, the case against racism is a political commitment against unequal treatment which denies a common humanity and individual rights and freedoms. While Canadian politicians, academics and social analysts may agree in their condemnation of racism, they do so from distinct theoretical standpoints. These are derived from ideologies or "world views" which are sometimes explicit, sometimes not. In turn, social and educative strategies against racism are determined in and by these ideological and political contexts.

Method

In this study I sought to make these contexts explicit; first by developing a typology which captured the main conceptions of racism in a select sample of Canadian writing on racism, and second by arraying these conceptions within an existing model for categorizing educative approaches in relation to social change (Paulston, 1977). Readings were selected because they: were available, were relevant to **adult** race relations and anti-racist education, and treated racism as a theoretical, ideological or political construct. During a first reading tentative categories were established that: appeared to be mutually exclusive, captured the main essence of the author's theoretical construction of racism, and appeared to arise from a discernible ideological orientation. Categories were refined by returning to the literature several times and modifying the categories for fit. It was often necessary to infer the authors' meanings on two levels: first, by discerning whether racism was being discussed through the use of related terms; second, by discerning whether an ideological perspective concerning racism was present when it was not explicit.

Results

Five themes were derived which characterize the range of difference among the various conceptualizations of racism. These themes were organized for the purpose of clarifying a socio-political context for change towards a less racist society. The socio-political viewpoints in which the themes were embedded could be broadly categorized into two types. The first concerns education designed to maintain or reinforce extant power relations (equilibrium). The second type critically examines conditions of conflict that underlie inequitable social situations, and seek to resolve them by challenging extant power relations.

Theme 1: Racism as Past Practice

This category is typified by a view of racism as an historical systemic or structural feature of Canadian society: "Canada was a racist society" (Hill & Schiff, 1986). This view is bifurcated into two conceptions of racism as an ideological feature of Canada's history: one view holds that systemic racism is a discontinuous aspect of colonial capitalist expansion and nation-building (Hill & Schiff, 1986; Breton, 1988). The other view holds that racist ideology is still extant as a systemic feature of Canadian society (Li, 1988; Vorst, 1989). The first notion is connected to an evolutionary analysis of gradual change from racism to liberal equality (Hill, no date; Berger, 1987). The second can be connected to a view of change as conflictual, requiring awareness of, and opposition to, ideologies which support and maintain inequality based on racial and ethnic difference. Educative action suggested from this latter perspective is to apply knowledge and analysis of these historical events to clarify present practices of racism (Thomas, 1983; Lee, 1985; Vorst, 1989), or prevent further outbreaks of racism (Berger, 1987).

Theme 2: Racism as Attitude

This category deals with conceptions of racism as thoughts, attitudes, beliefs and psychological states or predispositions. These were seen to arise from ignorance, learning or social conditioning (Lee, 1985; Sealey, 1986; Hill, no date), although some writers held that ability to discriminate is an innate (though benign) human attribute (Block & Walker, 1981). Others speculated that racism is an aspect of psychological reactions such as frustration, aggression, fear of others, or dislike of something different. Prejudice on the basis of real or alleged characteristics, and stereotyping were viewed as expressions of racist attitudes (Thomas, 1983; Sealey, 1986; Allan, 1988). Racism was also seen as a false belief in the notion that biological characteristics are related to cultural characteristics (Sealey, 1986). One group of educators believed that racism is a lack of critical consciousness on the conditions and causes of social and individual situations (Shapson & D'Oyley, 1984).

Theme 3: Racism as Action

In this category, racism is described as "an **overt or covert act**, such as denying an individual employment, housing accommodation or other services..." (Hill, no date:2). These actions are depicted as either individual or collective. The latter were usually referenced as **institutional** and **structural** racism, and were seen to be reinforced by institutional power to reward and penalize: "Racism is any action or institutional practice - backed by institutional power - that subordinates people because of their colour or ethnicity." (Lee, 1985:33)

These practices and structures were seen to be systemic when they become widespread to the point of entrenchment. Inasmuch as this form of racism legitimizes individual acts of racism, (Allan, 1988), it falls just short of being defined as racist ideology. The difference is that the locus of generating and reinforcing the ideology is within an institution (such as the immigration system [Vorst, 1989]), rather than with the state. The emphasis on action in defining racism is shown by a study by Henry and Ginzberg (1988), who felt that an actual demonstration of discrimination in employment practices would provide the tangibility required for evidence of racism. Other action-constructs describing racial and ethnic discrimination were listed as: assimilation, segregation, genocide, differential treatment, prejudicial or disadvantaging treatment, denial of desire or preference (Dreidger, 1987).

Prescriptions for intervention against these forms of racism are, predictably, action-oriented. "When it comes to taking action, it is less important to know why racism exists than how discrimination is practiced." (Hill, no date:13): [Legislative action, affirmative action, employment equity programs, anti-racist education, analysis of barriers to equal opportunity, changing institutional structures and practices writing new laws, creating social movements and mounting individual efforts to reduce levels of prejudice (Thomas, 1983; Lee, 1985; Sealey, 1986; Allan, 1988).] Under the theme of action there is a tendency to prefer measures for structural and systemic change. Such measures align with the designation of conflict as the means for effecting social change towards anti-racism.

Theme 4: Racism as Effect: Intergroup Inequality

Marxian analyses of class, ethnicity and race in Canada have identified and quantified racism as a structural element of social inequity (Li, 1988; Porter, 1989; Clement, 1989). Functionalist or Weberian definitions of discrimination posit that prejudice does serve positive functions for certain groups in society, and that prejudice persists because it has latent and manifest benefits for elements of both majority and minority groups. For the majority group, positive functions are described as: maintenance of occupational status, performance of low paying or unpleasant jobs, maintenance of power. For the minority group: positive role in contributing to group identity, creation of a degree of psychic security in an unfriendly environment, and avoidance of loss of esteem (Sealey, 1986).

Recently effects of intergroup dynamics as involuntary urban segregation of visible minorities (Balakrishnan & Kralt, 1987) have been used to describe racial discrimination. The discourse of defining racism as effects is currently quite vigorous, with two predominant and competing theoretical stances: traditional Marxian analysis (and ideology), and Weberian (structural/functionalist) analysis. This discussion has been joined by feminist Marxian analysts, and neo-Marxians.

The view of racism as effects can yield either system-supporting change prescriptions, such as increased budgets for ethnic intergroup activities, or conflict-oriented changes which challenge the extant power relationships. Some of the measures discussed in the previous section would apply here as well.

Theme 5: Racism as Ideology

This category describes ways in which ideological aspects of racism are perceived. Some of the literature I reviewed expounded on the "myths" that buttress racist practice, and are seen as part of the ideology of racism. A number are presented below:

The Mobility Dream is "engraved into the North American ideology" (Li, 1988:5). In this myth, every person is the architect of their own fortune, equal opportunity is available to everyone, individual effort alone is responsible for success, inner qualities are key to achievements, while personal weakness is the author of self-created misfortunes.

The Myth of equality. After demonstrating the existence and persistence of inequality that can be attributed to social practices and structures in Canadian society, Li (1988) claims equality is a myth, and rather inequality is the factual representation of Canadian society. He attributes these inequalities to capitalist class relationships.

The melting pot myth, and assimilationism. "The unfounded belief that non-whites are more difficult to assimilate provides the explanation for the economic and social deprivations of non-whites, and the justification for exploitation of coloured labour." (Li, 1988:7).

The myth of multiculturalism. "If the multicultural programs have been limited in their capacity to change race and ethnic relations, it is because they are intended to harmonize, and not to resolve social conflicts...as an ideology, multiculturalism strengthens rather than challenges the operations of the labour market by strengthening the belief in equality." (Li, 1988:10). It is claimed by Li and others that the multicultural policy reinforces token or symbolic pluralism, which serves to manage race and ethnic relations within a state apparatus.

To demonstrate the ideological nature of discourse on racism, I am presenting here another order of myth. It is the belief of New Right economists that there exists a sort of pro-ethnic ideology in the current socio-economic order of Canada. Here is what New Right proponents view to be a myth of that ideology:

The Myth of Discrimination. Proponents of the New Right hold that ethnic and racial discrimination in the marketplace is a myth created by the bureaucratic/liberal/ethnic hegemony to further their own interests through policies such as affirmative action and employment equity measures. This view contends that preference is natural and should be allowed in a free society. But if "irrational" discrimination were practiced in the marketplace, natural market forces would weed these out as non-profitable practices (Block & Walker, 1981).

There is an emerging Marxian feminist discourse which has resolved to combine the discussion of gender with that of race and class, because in its view, racism, like sexism is a dominant ideology of the capitalist state. This view holds that racist ideologies obscure other relationships, situations and histories of oppression in Canada.

Conclusion

There is an ideological divide in Canadian thinking about racism as exhibited in this review. The divide is exemplified here as an ideological split between concepts of social change (in this case toward a non-racist society) which require modifications to a system that must continue to exist, as opposed to concepts of social change which involve resolving conflicting conditions which give rise to inequity. Despite this divide, Canadian discourse on racism must continue if the causes and conditions of racism are to be eliminated.

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PERSPECTIVES ON PROGRAM PLANNING IN ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract: This paper critiques classical, practical, and critical theories of program planning and offers outlines of a theory that incorporates central insights from all three.

So what do program planners really do? This paper argues that we should understand the centrality of practical judgments in planning practice. This practical judgment image can describe what planners do as well as suggest ways to recognize problems and seize opportunities in their daily practice. In order to see why we use this image to understand program planning practice, let us consider three accounts of what planners do. By examining each of these viewpoints, we will see what each is able to tell us about practice as well as what each viewpoint fails to tell us.

THE CLASSICAL VIEWPOINT

Anyone wishing to develop educational programs for adults has an abundance of theories from which to draw. Most are fashioned in the image of adult educators as people who apply the principles of these theories to problems encountered in planning programs. In his classic book about program planning, Knowles (1980) says that before 1950 adult educators had no theory to support their practice so they relied on intuition. Then books began to appear, including his own Informal Adult Education (1950), which extracted principles from these intuitions that could be used by other adult educators to plan better educational programs. During the subsequent four decades, nearly one hundred more theories about how to plan programs were added to the literature of adult education (Sork & Busky, 1986).

Most of these theories were offered on the premise that the curriculum theories used in schools were inappropriate for the situations faced by the educators of adults. Nevertheless, the curriculum development framework presented in Tyler's (1949) classic book, Principles of Curriculum and Instruction, undergirds most program planning theories in adult education. Tyler (1949, p. 1) suggests that any curriculum development project should be guided by four questions: (1) What educational experiences should the school seek to attain? (2) What educational experiences can be provided that are likely to attain these purposes? (3) How can these educational experiences be effectively organized? and (4) How can we determine whether these purposes are being attained? Tyler's framework has been the dominant curriculum theory in education since it was published and is widely considered the "Classical Viewpoint" (Schubert, 1986). Many adult educators have noted that the logic of Tyler's framework has also become the Classical Viewpoint in adult education. (Brookfield, 1986). Tyler's four questions have been translated into the prescriptive steps of the program planning process as described in nearly all theories.

The power of the language used in the Classical Viewpoint is evident when planners use it to describe what they actually do. For example, Knowles (1980, pp. 26-27) asks "What Does an Adult Educator Do?" He answers in the language of the classical model: They (1) help learners diagnose their needs for learning, (2) plan with learners a sequence of experiences that will produce the desired learnings, (3) create conditions that will cause the learners to want to learn, (4) select the most effective methods and techniques to produce the desired learnings, (5) provide the human and material resources necessary to produce the desired learnings, and (6) help the learner measure the outcomes of the learning experiences. Knowles has not changed the logic of Tyler's questions, but rather has been more explicit about the involvement of learners in the process.

If there is any doubt about the dominance of the Classical Viewpoint, it was dispelled in the one research study in adult education that has asked program planners how they actually develop programs. Pennington and Green (1976) interviewed fifty-two continuing professional educators and asked them to describe the planning strategies they use in their daily practice. From these descriptions, the authors developed a model of the planning process that clustered around six types of activities: (1) originating the idea from formal needs assessments and other sources, (2) developing the idea by exploring the extent of field interest, (3) making a commitment by laying administrative groundwork, (4) developing the program in terms of setting objectives and selecting methods, (5) teaching the course, and (6) evaluating the impact by measuring the results. The logic and language of this model sound familiar because, as the authors conclude, "Planners use the language of the classical model to label their planning actions" (Pennington & Green, 1976, p. 22). We must ask, however, is this really what program planners do? We might be led to wonder, as Houle (1980) did, whether these 52 program planners were "imposing upon the accounts of their own activities some memories of the general patterns that had been described to them" (p. 228). This is surely the case because the planners themselves claimed not to have used the model in any systematic way! Rather, they stressed the importance of personal values, environmental constraints, and available resource alternatives as the major set of critical factors constraining their action in the planning process. Thus, even in the face of describing what is really important in the program planning processes, these continuing educators could describe what they do only in the vocabulary of the Classical Viewpoint.

Brookfield (1986, p. 206) provides similar evidence that program planners use the language of the Classical Viewpoint to describe what they do even as they claim that the viewpoint fails to account for the political and economic realities to such a degree that its practice injunctions cannot be taken seriously. It should not be surprising that the principles of the Classical Viewpoint do not account for what planners do because this is not the intention of the authors who construct them. Program planning theories in this viewpoint tell educators what they ought to do; "it describes an idealized process that may or may not fit with the realities of practice" (Sork & Caffarella, 1989, p. 243). The same point has been made for many years about the Tylerian model of curriculum development. Walker (1971) claims that the classical model neglects or distorts important aspects of what really happens in the curriculum development process in schools.

Can the Classical Viewpoint tell us what program planners really do? Although this viewpoint has an authoritative and comforting ring to it, real-life planners would tell you it is not an accurate depiction of what they really have to do and what is important about their everyday practice. they would tell you that its image of the educator who applies principles to problems leaves unanswered the crucial questions of who is applying which principles, with what values and interests, and in what organizational setting. Indeed, even theorists who are sympathetic to this viewpoint believe that "...anyone who claims that a planning model accurately represents how planning occurs in practice... has a naive understanding of what planning involves....." (Sork & Caffarella, 1989, p. 234). Thus, although we know that program planners do not simply apply principles to practice problems, we do not know what they really do.

To be fair, however, these theories were never really meant to account for the realities of practice including the shifting goals, the limited resources, the relations of power, and the varying personalities encountered in the everyday world. Rather, they identify some of the key questions that must be asked of every educational program, such as its purpose and how its learning experiences would be best organized to meet those purposes. Yet they are silent on the matter of how real educators are to answer those questions in the everyday world. What we should find odd, however, is that most program planners use the language of the Classical Viewpoint to describe what they do in spite of this silence. The next viewpoint suggests that we continue to use this language because we lack a vocabulary to talk about what we do in any other way. Thus, the proponents of this viewpoint have pressed for theories that are frankly based on the demands of actual practice.

THE NATURALISTIC VIEWPOINT

By shifting our gaze from the idealized principles of the Classical Viewpoint to actual planning situations, we answer the question, "What do planners do?" in a dramatically different way. Adult educators are no longer planners who apply a standard set of principles and procedures to any situation. Rather, they are real people trying to make the best decisions about what action to take in a concrete situation. In a highly complicated world, planners can only strive to make the best decisions. Planning practice is rarely a matter of knowing unambiguously what is right to do, rather it is more a process of choosing among competing alternatives. Good planning, then, is a matter of making the most defensible judgments about what to do in terms of what is possible (as defined by the constraints imposed by circumstances) and what is desirable (as defined by a set of values and beliefs).

If what planners do is to make judgments, it follows that better planning will result by knowing more about the process by which these judgments are made. The process by which planning problems are solved, which has been called deliberation (Schwab, 1969) and practical reasoning (Reid, 1979), consists of formulating decision points, devising alternative choices at these points, considering arguments for and against various decision alternatives, and choosing the most defensible alternative based on what is possible and desirable (Walker, 1971). Adult educators become expert planners in this view by developing and being aware of their own criteria for making decisions and knowing how these criteria are to be used in concrete situations. Rather than applying standard principles, the Naturalistic Viewpoint places primary emphasis on the planner's ability to make judgments in a specific context and to justify them.

The most elegant and well-articulated example of this viewpoint in adult education is Houle's two-part system of program design (1972). The system's first part establishes a series of seven choice points, "each of which requires both an analysis of a complex situation and a selection among alternative courses of action" (Houle, 1972, p. 223). He clearly points out that these decision points are not a logical series of steps (the practical world is much too complicated for this) but a complex of interacting elements that are dealt with at various points throughout the planning process. Because Houle believes that planners' choices are strongly influenced by the context in which they are made, the second part of his system requires the planner to determine which of 11 categories of educational design situations (for example, an individual designs her own activity, a teacher designs an activity for a group) the proposed learning activity belongs.

By providing the conceptual tools to understand the two major determinants of good planning, that is **making decisions** in a **specific context**, Houle hopes to improve adult educators' abilities to make the best judgments in practice. This expresses the central characteristic of the Naturalistic Viewpoint: planning systems do not make choices in the real world, planners do. Because education is a practical art, the program planner will be judged by how well she deals with concrete planning situations in which she has a specific group of learners (not the generic adult learner), a specific organizational context, and limited resources of money and time. Thus, as Houle (1972) says, the quality of any particular program "...depends in large measure upon the wisdom and competence of the person making the choices" (p. 223). In a more recent incarnation of this viewpoint, Brookfield (1986) urges program planners to realize that they are "practical theorists" who must use their intuition to make judgments about what to do in specific contexts, a task for which "the neatly conceived models of practice found in manuals and textbooks" (p. 245) are inadequate. In planning programs, practical theorists are exquisitely sensitive to the context and make judgments regarding what to do based on their own values and theories of action about what works in the real world.

Although this viewpoint focuses our attention on the importance of judgment, context, and values in the program planning process, the same questions that Tyler asks need to be addressed at some point in the planning process. We still need to ask what the program's purposes will be, what learning experiences will be designed to achieve them, and whether the goals were achieved in our particular setting. For example, Brookfield describes a workshop he offers to help school administrators devise staff development programs, titled "A Critical Look at Creating Staff Development Programs: From Needs Assessment Through Evaluation." The major topics he covers include needs-assessment, determining objectives/content, determining methods, and evaluation (Brookfield, 1986). Thus, the questions of the Classical Viewpoint remain important but the focus is changed to ask how planners answer these questions in practice.

By arguing that what planners really do is make judgments through a deliberative process in a specific context, this viewpoint offers fresh insights into ways of improving planning practice. It tells us to look at how real planners justify the choices they make in practice and learn from these precedents. In spite of the value of these insights, questions remain for the planner in practice. Are there any standards, either technical or ethical, for knowing whether you have made the "best" judgment? It would appear that any choice can be justified because this viewpoint does not prescribe the values or precedents on which planners **should** base their judgments. Further, this process of deliberation or practical reasoning appears too rational for it does not address the situations where unequal relations of power exist between the adult educator and others involved in the planning process.

THE CRITICAL VIEWPOINT

Planners can make the best judgments in everyday practice, the theories in this viewpoint argue, only if they clearly understand that education is a political and ideological activity that is intimately connected to the social inequalities in the larger society. Because these judgments are made in a world of unequal and shifting relations of power, they are inherently ethical and political rather than technical. Planners have a clear standard by which to make these judgments if they are to play a progressive role in creating a more equal and humane society. Educators must always have an interest in emancipation that is guided by the values of "...equity, sharing, personal dignity, security, freedom, and caring..." (Beyer & Apple, 1988, p. 7).

The concern for social and political emancipation marks out this viewpoint's true distinctiveness. Unlike the theories in the other two viewpoints, it claims to have a set of explicit moral standards by which program planners abide so that a planner "...openly takes sides in the interest of struggling for a better world" (Giroux, 1983, p. 19). Much of the theorizing in this viewpoint has sought to uncover how schools and the everyday activities of teachers serve society's dominant political, cultural, and economic interests at the expense of those not in these groups (Apple, 1982, 1990; Beyer & Apple, 1988; Giroux, 1983). The goal of curriculum theory, then, is to show the way toward a reconstruction of society's cultural, political, and economic relations thought education and schooling. These theorists have developed a "critical pedagogy" to challenge the hegemony of existing relations of power, which can guide educators involved in "counter-hegemonic" practice.

Drawing from the work of curriculum theorists, a stream of theories in adult education is emerging that both account for the central role played in the planning process by interpersonal, organizational, and societal relations of power and propose a clear ethical standard to guide planners in creating a more equal society (Freire, 1970; Griffin, 1983; Hart, 1990). Although there has been a long-standing tradition of adult educators working in the interests of radical social reform, only recently have their insights and motivations become a legitimate basis for planning theory. Clearly, Freire's work in developing a critical pedagogy, or a Pedagogy for the Oppressed (1970), has been a guiding beacon for all theorists in this viewpoint. He proposes a program planning practice that liberates people by giving them a voice, which has been suppressed by existing structures of societal inequality. In a similar vein, Hart (1990) discusses the principles of developing programs for consciousness raising, which include "...the actual experience of power on the individual level, a theoretical grasp of power as a larger social reality, and a practical orientation toward emancipatory action" (p. 71).

Where, for example, Freire has developed a planning theory that accounts for his work with illiterate men and women in Brazil and Hart has developed a set of principles for consciousness raising groups, others have argued for more comprehensive theories. Griffin (1983) calls for a general "curriculum theory of adult and lifelong education...which is addressed to the problems of the aims, content, and methods of adult learning in a context of knowledge, culture, and power" (p. 200). Although he believes that Freire and others raise the important issues any planning theory must address, such as whether adult education reproduces or transforms existing social and political inequalities, these issues have not been incorporated into any general program planning theory.

The writers in this viewpoint have self-consciously focused on the development of theory that can account for the political and ethical issues in educational planning. They do not apologize for this emphasis on theory because "how to" questions can only be dealt with after "why" questions have been explored and provisionally resolved (Beyer & Apple, 1988). In fact, those sympathetic to this viewpoint are struggling to find ways to fashion planning practices that are informed by the theory: "...the central project I see for critical pedagogues now is actualizing what individuals like Giroux have theorized" (Tierney, 1990, p. 391). This has led to vigorous debate regarding what critical pedagogy looks like and what its effects are in actual practice.

Ellsworth's (1989) attempt to plan a university course, "Media and Anti-Racist Pedagogies," using the goals and pedagogical prescriptions of the critical pedagogy literature identifies some of the central critiques of this viewpoint. She claims that most theorists who invoke the central concepts of critical pedagogy (such as individual freedom, social justice, and social change) rarely locate their discussions within actual practices, which a curriculum planner might use. While the discussion of these concepts may be appropriate for philosophical discussion of universal values (namely, democracy and justice), this curriculum theory provided only the most abstract, decontextualized criteria for "...thinking through and planning classroom practices to support the political agenda..." (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 300) of the course. Thus, Ellsworth concludes that we really do not know what planners are supposed to do in actual practice.

Even more damaging, perhaps, is Ellsworth's critique about the effects of this approach to curriculum planning. She repeats the critique offered by others, namely that there is no empirical evidence to suggest that this approach to curriculum planning actually alters the cultural, economic, or political relations of power either inside or outside of schools. In fact, based on her own research in planning the course, she concludes that the central concepts of critical pedagogy (empowerment, student voice, dialogue, and even the term "critical") are themselves repressive myths that maintained relations of domination in the classroom. When the participants in the class tried to put into practice the theoretical prescriptions concerning these concepts, "we produced results that were not only not helpful, but actually exacerbated the very conditions we were trying to work against, including Eurocentrism, racism, sexism, classism, and 'banking education'" (Ellsworth, 1989, p. 298). The participants thus had to move out of the theory's myths about what "should" happen and into classroom practices that were context specific to reach their goals.

The theories in this viewpoint draw our attention to the political and ethical nature of program planning. Their insights show how existing organizational and societal relations of power shape planners' everyday judgments and implore them to plan in ways that fosters dialogue, democracy, individual freedom, and social justice. Yet, this viewpoint falls short in exploring the ways these insights might be worked out in the everyday world faced by program planners. It is especially difficult to envision what the practice of this viewpoint might look like for program planners in organizations that are not committed to the particular political and ethical agenda espoused by these theories, a common situation for many adult educators.

ESSENTIAL ASPECTS OF PLANNING PRACTICE

When we speak of program planners, we refer to a family of roles that involve deliberation about proper courses of action. Essentially, then, planning is the guidance of future action (Forester, 1989). As described above, several traditions have built up over the years that have sought to understand what planners do and what they should do to be effective. The Classical Viewpoint abstractly models an ideal system of planning but does not help us understand everyday practice or action. After all, the Naturalistic Viewpoint argues, planners are real people who have to decide what action to take in the real world. If a planning theory is going to be most helpful, then, it must account for **how** planners actually deliberate about what action to take. This view forcefully draws our attention to the practical contexts of action and the process by which educators make planning judgments in those contexts. But what about the social and political structures and the resulting relations of power that shape the contexts of action and the feasibility of planners' judgments, as asked by the Critical Viewpoint? If planners are not politically astute, they surely will be ineffective. Planning in the face of power, these theories argue, is a daily necessity and a constant ethical challenge (Forester, 1989).

We began this paper by asking what planners do. We believe the essential issue confronting program planning theory in adult education is that it does not adequately account for what real educators do in everyday practice. In different ways, though, each of these viewpoints provides important insights about program planning. Our intention in presenting these viewpoints is to retrieve from them the essential insights that contribute to a more accurate understanding of adult education program planning practice.

The essential idea we take from the Naturalistic Viewpoint is that planners make defensible judgments about what to do in specific contexts. In this view, the distinguishing characteristic of any practice is its action-orientation. Even in situations of ambiguity, doubt, or confusion, those planning programs must make a judgment about what needs to be (or not be) said or done in those situations. Planners do not have the luxury of eternal doubt, forever wondering what judgment to make about a series of alternative courses of action. Sometimes these choices appear easy and at other times planners must choose among equally attractive or unattractive alternatives. Most often, however, these judgments are not so rational; that is, there are not straightforward and recognizable alternatives, clearly agreed upon criteria for making these judgments, and sufficient consensus or power so that others affected by these judgments need not be negotiated with.

More often, planning practice is embedded in the complicated organizational world where problems do not present themselves as well-formed and unambiguous but rather as messy and interdeterminate. As Reid (1978) says: "Problems are uncertain when the grounds for decision-making are unclear, when there are conflicting aims, when the problems relate to unique contexts, and when other people with varying wants and desires are affected by solutions to them" (p. 195). The judgments planners make are practical, in this view, because the problems they face are fundamentally practical; that is, they require decisions about what to do and are characteristically ambiguous. In this view, practical judgments have as much to do with what problem needs to be solved as about how to solve it.

The Critical Viewpoint helps us gain a more comprehensive understanding of the nature of practical judgments in planning practice. Judgments are practical, in this view, because they are inextricably connected to institutional contexts that have a history, are composed of interpersonal and organizational relations of power, and are marked by conflicting wants and interests. Thus, planners make judgments about what to say and do in situations that are intensely influenced by organizational politics, historical precedents, and the conflicting intentions of all who are involved with the planning. Rather than focusing on planners' individual discretion, we must clearly understand that these dimensions of the context inevitably shape what planners say and do, and inevitably, what they must say and do.

This view points to the inherently social nature of planning practice. Practical judgments mean different things in different contexts and the planner who believes these contexts do not matter is likely to fail miserably, to be misunderstood, and to be seen as unresponsive to the needs of others (Forester, 1989). Thus, planners' practical judgments are social not only in envisioning feasible and desirable alternative course of action in their **specific** organizational context, but also because they have to negotiate with others, choose among conflicting wants and interests, develop trust, locate support and opposition, be sensitive to timing, and know the informal ropes as well as the formal organizational chart.

The Naturalistic and Critical Viewpoints contribute the essential insights into our theory of planning practice. By drawing our attention to the centrality of practical judgments and their inherently political and ethical nature, we now have an image of what planners do. By focusing on this element, we can understand how and why an educational program is designed the way it is. That is, an educational program is entirely determined by the practical judgments that were made in constructing it. Thus, any attempt to understand or improve planners' effectiveness would have to focus on their practical judgments.

Where does this discussion leave the Classical Viewpoint? In terms of this account of planning practice, that viewpoint does not account for the dimensions and variability of planning contexts, the nature of practical judgments, or the values that influence how these judgments are made. Nevertheless, this viewpoint has clearly identified some of the characteristic questions that must be addressed by any planner. Paraphrasing Tyler, these are: What **purpose(s)** does a program seek?; what **content** or educational experiences are likely to attain these purposes?; by which **methods** can this content be effectively organized?; and how can these purposes be **evaluated**? It is difficult to imagine a planning situation in which planners' practical judgments do not center on these questions. However, our theory of planning practice reformulated the way these questions are asked.

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INCLUSIVE LANGUAGE AND PERSPECTIVE TRANSFORMATION

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Abstract: A policy mandating the use of inclusive language at a seminary was accompanied by critical awareness of structures of inequality and new feelings of empowerment. Analysis of the learning experience led to a revision of Mezirow's (1988) steps of perspective transformation.

Introduction

What happens when a theological seminary enforces a policy of using inclusive language in all its endeavors? Many things, but especially irritation and disorientation. Over a period of three or more years, however, both women and men reported a noticeable change in their awareness of the ways that language inhibits or enhances learning. Discussion of the experience was characterized by initial resistance to change, new awareness of self, critical awareness of structures of inequality and, finally, new feelings of empowerment.

By inclusive language, I mean terms for people that do not exclude; that is, references to "humans" rather than "man" or "men," humankind rather than mankind. There are other areas of exclusion practiced by our culture as well. We usually assume the ability to see (what about those who are blind? or otherwise disabled?), we assume heterosexuality (rather than a gay or lesbian lifestyle), we assume white male identity to the exclusion of any other reality. The term "inclusive" rather than "nonsexist" was chosen because of the former term's positive stance. Language change should address inclusion of all persons and groups, not just the inclusion of women. (For a fuller discussion of the research on the power of language, see Coffman (1989)).

The study was undertaken after noticing a pattern of easy acceptance of a state policy of using inclusive language by new students which was followed about six weeks into the school term by strong feelings of irritation and resentment of the need to change familiar patterns of language. Why was this happening? To gain a fuller awareness of the issues, a phenomenological study was done. Interviews were conducted over a period of about six months in 1988 with men and women in their first, second and last year of M.Div. study, as well as graduates now serving churches. Faculty and administrators were also interviewed. First year students were about eight months from the initial experience and still arguing with themselves and their peers about the issues. By the time a student reached the third and final year of M.Div. study or had been serving a church for a time, reflection on the experience had progressed much further. Graduates now working in churches had the additional dilemma of whether, why or how to introduce inclusive language in their congregations.

Results of the Study Led to a Revision of Mezirow's Phases

Themes emerged from the taped and transcribed interviews. As the analysis progressed, it became clear that the phases of the responses to the policy of inclusive language were similar to Mezirow's ten phases of perspective transformation with the important distinctions. To facilitate this discussion the following chart is provided.

Mezirow's Phases	**Coffman's Revision of the Phases**
1. A disorienting dilemma.	A disorienting dilemma.
2. Self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame.	Generation of feelings of surprise followed closely by other intense feelings (including elation, confusion, resentment, irritation).
3. A critical assessment of epistemic or psycho-cultural presuppositions.	Intense awareness of, and interaction with, the community sharing in the experience of the disorienting dilemma/new reality, including listening, hearing, acknowledging, and speaking about whatever was stirred up.
4. Recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation is shared.	A critical reexamination of society's norms, values, and presuppositions and one's previous unquestioning acceptance of them.
5. Exploring options for new roles, relationships and actions.	Exploring options for new roles, relationships and actions.
6. Planning a course of action.	Planning a course of action.
7. Acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans.	Acquiring knowledge and skills for implementing one's plans.
8. Provisional efforts to try new roles.	Provisional efforts to try new roles.
9. Building competence and self-confidence into new roles and relationships.	Building acceptance and self-confidence into new roles and relationships.
10. A reintegration into society on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective.	A reintegration into society on the basis of conditions dictated by one's new perspective (which may result in some transformation of society through human agency).

Discussion

First, Mezirow says there is a "disorienting dilemma". Certainly, the experience of being challenged to change the use of words on the basis that they are exclusive and sexist was a disorienting one to many of those interviewed. They resented being told their language was not good enough. In addition, the experience of hearing an unfamiliar term or phrase used to refer to God was disorienting. One woman reported that the first time she heard God referred to as a woman, she looked around, fully expecting everyone to "drop dead." Further, the mandate of the seminary which called for the use of inclusive language in all papers meant the students had to struggle to find alternate terms or phrases as they wrote. The confrontation by a disorienting dilemma appeared to be consistent. Students who liked the changes were disoriented by negative reactions of their peers and by some faculty who still struggled to implement the changes in all phases of lecturing and preaching.

I would replace Mezirow's second step, that of "self-examination with feelings of guilt or shame" (p. 226), with "the generation of a feeling of surprise, followed closely by other intense feelings." The nature of the resulting feelings depends on the person's own meaning system and degree of defensiveness present in the personality structure, as well as their experience of norms and roles in society from family structures and contemporary social forces. Often, the feelings were identified as irritation and resentment, followed by a strong desire for self-justification. Or, the feelings might be confusion mixed with joy, belongingness, and expansiveness. The feelings, in addition, were connected to memories of incidents and habitual ways of speaking and being which were suddenly brought to mind by the disorientation. The intensity of the feelings related directly to the nature of the confrontation. Feeling as though one has been "hit over the head" or totally rejected results in stronger feelings than does experiencing the modelling of new behavior which makes no immediate demand for change nor any accusation of insufficiency.

The second major problem I have with Mezirow's phases has to do with the third phase which I find to be "the intense sharing in the experience of the new reality." Mezirow appears to include this in his fourth phase, "the recognition that one's discontent and the process of transformation is shared" (p. 226). This third phase is crucial, I believe, to whether persons embrace the new reality or reject it. If they are to embrace it, two things must happen: (a) One's feelings, however strong or mild, must be permitted expression and acknowledgement in such a way that the persons know they have been heard. In addition, the hearing must include the possibility of having one's own position be changed, or at least enriched by new awarenesses; that is, the act of hearing another's feelings is not merely a perfunctory step to be "gotten through"; (b) Once heard and acknowledged, that person is ready to hear and acknowledge the feelings of another in the community. When one's discontent is heard, felt, and acknowledged by others, one is able to let go of that resentment and move to the critical assessment of what is going on. Further, the acknowledgement by others should be done in an atmosphere of being prized and valued as a person. This is a basic approach to counseling put forth by Carl Rogers (1957) and reiterated by Cell (1984, p. 18). Stanage (1987) has observed that all levels of person--the feeling, experiencing, and consciousing (in that order and the reverse)--are present and involved in the transformation of person. In summary, the context of a person's background and experience is brought to mind by the disorientation and is available to the community of learners for critical analysis as the feelings generated are heard. As feelings and experiences are shared, new feelings are generated and other experiences remembered. This phase must be continually repeated. The spiral of learning has begun in which the next phases of learning (Stanage's consciousing) are present.

The phase of hearing, acknowledging, and valuing the feelings of others appeared to have been only partially present for many of those interviewed. For some, the interview itself provided closure on some feelings of resentment. By "closure" I mean the speaker now knows that someone else in the community has heard what was said. In the process of being heard, the speaker also hears back what was said and self-knowledge is confirmed. One of the ideal conditions for learning listed by Mezirow (1989), "self-knowledge sufficient to assure participation free from distortion, inhibitions, compensatory mechanisms or other forms of self-deception" (p. 171), now has a chance of being in place.

It was clear that the result of hearing, acknowledging, and valuing the feelings of others was not the unearthing of concrete experiences that were identical. The possibility of real differences in experience must be expected. Further, the result of these differences sometimes meant that the responses to certain terms offered by proponents of inclusive language did not have meaning or value for those with a different constellation of experiences. When the differences were made clear, persons were able to move beyond the differences to consider the underlying value of the changes. This is precisely why the ability to listen, value, and acknowledge those with opposing views is key to education for transformation and empowerment.

The fourth phase follows: "A critical examination of society's norms, values and presuppositions and one's previous unquestioning acceptance of them." This one picks up on Mezirow's second step of self-examination ("with feelings of guilt or shame" is now part of the second phase). The focus is on a realization of the ways in which one has participated in a reality which is now seen as inadequate. Specifically, the nature of language as a symbol system and the possibility of its use as a powerful instrument of control are acknowledged. Steps five through nine appear to correspond to emergent themes in this study.

Mezirow's step ten does not adequately accommodate the possibility of the transformation of society based on the perspective transformation of individuals who are members of groups. My addition of the phrase "which may result in some transformation of society through human agency" allows for that possibility while acknowledging the hegemony of dominant forces and the difficulty small groups have in bringing about change. In this study, the solidarity of the seminary classmates who were moving into congregations gave them more courage to initiate change and begin the process in a new community. Some were wondering how to begin; others were relieved to be away from the stress of having to change language and had not initiated any changes in their new setting. Those who felt their feelings had been accepted by the community were more likely to initiate change than those who had experienced rejection by the community.

Related Work

The way of knowing named praxis by Groome (1980) involves a critical reflection within a community context on lived experience. Schon (1983) describes the reflective conversation as one that spirals through stages of appreciation, action, and reappreciation. If we return to Mezirow's phases, adding the new second, third, and fourth articulation, then we can consider phases three through ten to be in the spiral of appreciation, action, and reappreciation described by Schon. Within all the steps, but most decidedly within step two, the stance advocated by Rogers and reiterated by Cell should form the basis for relational interaction. As Stanage shows, each person is made up of many levels, all of which are tapped in the learning process. Even within the individual, we must deal with context. Certainly, the context of the community and each member's experiences are part of the total learning experience. The emphasis on a repeated spiral acknowledges that learning does not take place in a linear fashion, but is characterized by revisiting the same ground many times as the process of transformation is begun and negotiated.

Clark & Wilson (1991) charge that Mezirow fails to account for the place of context in transformational learning. Further, they summarize the charges of Collard & Law (1989), Griffin (1987, 1988) and Hart (1990) that "Mezirow has apparently appropriated Habermas's epistemology without incorporating its radical social critique and consequent demand for social action" (p. 75). Clark & Wilson link Mezirow with humanists such as Rogers (1951) and trace Rogerian "unity of the self" to classical liberal philosophy wherein the individual is in charge of his or her destiny. They then offer an understanding of "rationality" that "readily engages context and thus maintains the essential linkage between experience and meaning" (p. 76). They look to Hawkesworth (1989) who presents a view of reason or cognition that must be seen as "a human practice" that is "mediated by theoretical presuppositions embedded in language and culture" (p. 544). Further, they cite Kuhn (1970) who argues "the final recourse to settling opinions about points of view resides in the values commonly shared in a particular community" (p. 200). Finally, Clark & Wilson look to Bernstein (1983) who argues that "reasoning does not have meaning unless it is in context" (Clark & Wilson, p. 87).

I find much in Mezirow's ideas that is valuable and substantiated by my research. As Clark & Wilson address the matter of "context" being caught up in the community and its shared experiences, so is it possible to place any understanding of "individual" as inextricably caught up in the experiences which happen in community and which make up that person. It seems to me that Rogerian listening and acknowledging is a technique that enhances communication. Whether it is used with individuals or communities, it enhances conditions of ideal learning as experiences and feelings are accepted, prized, and known to be valid. I also agree with Bernstein's point that reasoning comes out of the context of individual and group experiences. Just as Schon describes the experience of the reflective practitioner as one who does critical reflection within a community context on lived experience, so can Mezirow's phases of perspective transformation, with these revisions, describe emancipatory learning within a community context. In this study, the resulting awareness of a subordinate status for women in a patriarchal language structure can lead to growing empowerment for attempts to change language usage in other settings.

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THE IMPACT OF CRITICAL SOCIAL THEORY ON ADULT EDUCATION: A PRELIMINARY EVALUATION

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INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

Although the intellectual and social ferment of the 1960s and 1970s resulted in theoretical upheavals that shook the very foundations of the human and social sciences (Bernstein, 1976), some time elapsed before the shock waves hit academic adult education. While the field was not immune to some radical influences, such as that of Paulo Freire, as late as 1982 Kjell Rubenson was challenging adult educators to engage with theoretically contemporary neo-Marxism and the 'new sociology of education.'

Obviously these ideas did have some impact on the field, either through the work of British adult educators such as Tom Lovett and Jane Thompson, or of North Americans such as Michael Apple and Henry Giroux. But from the mid-1980s it has been the twin poles of 'critical social theory' and, to a somewhat lesser extent, post-modernism that have attracted adult educators. In part this reflects the peculiarities of the North American 'New Left' intellectual tradition, but it also reflects the directions in which radical thinking generally had moved in the wake of the demise of the social movements of the 1960s, the fracturing of the radical agenda, and the rise of neo-Conservatism.

As some aspects of these developments have been considered in our earlier work (Collars and Law, 1989a; 1989b; 1990), in this paper we focus on critical social theory and its influence. The purpose of the research reported here was to trace the impact of critical social theory on adult education thinking and research, and to locate this development within the context of the crises of the political Left.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE AND RESEARCH APPROACH

Although, given our differing views, we adhere to no single theoretical perspective, this work, generally speaking, falls within the critical theoretical paradigm. The research proceeded in three stages. First, we examined a range of key writings by four North American adult educators using critical social theory, in order to determine sources, themes, and continuities. The four considered were Michael Collins, Mechthild Hart, Jack Mezirow, and Michael Welton. Second, we surveyed discussion of the 'failures' of 'orthodox Marxism', the rise of the New Left, and the recent 'retreat from socialism.' Third, we analyzed the interrelations between the rise and decline of the New Left and both adult education's reception of critical social theory and the themes and concerns to which it is tied. In view of the limitations of space, we concentrate primarily on a brief summary of the first stage, although our discussion is informed by the others.

FINDINGS

Origins and themes

'Critical social theory' refers to a strain of thought within 'Western Marxism.' Initially, it was associated with the scholarship of the 'Frankfurt School,' a group of intellectuals including Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Leo Lowenthal, and Friedrich Pollock, who first came together in Germany in 1923 (Held, 1980). Now it refers to the writings of a wider range of contemporary theorists, most notably Jurgen Habermas, whose work is seen to continue and develop the main lines of inquiry sketched by the early critical theorists. The roots of this tradition run deep; critical social theory extends and develops Kant's "concern with the conditions and limits of reason and knowledge," Hegel's "reflection on the emergence of spirit," and Marx's "focus on specific historical forms" (Held, 1980, p. 16). Motivated by an emancipatory vision that places an emphasis on self-emancipation and self-creation, contemporary critical theorists seek to explore the social and cultural conditions which on one hand impede human potential but which on the other hand make possible human and social transformation.

Critical social theory and the 'New Left'

From the late 1960s on, critical social theory had an enormous impact on the student New Left in both North America and Europe. Among others, Stanley Aronowitz (1981) has identified three factors that help explain this impact. First, given the perceived 'failure' of the working class as a revolutionary force, the subsequent analysis of this failure by critical social theorists appealed to a largely non-working class group that saw itself as a new agent of historical change. Second, critical social theory's emphasis on culture and subjectivity was sympathetic to the intellectual concerns of a radical generation which emphasized the links between culture and politics. Third, while drawing on the same intellectual traditions as orthodox Marxism, critical social theory remained aloof from the former's intellectual, practical, and moral failures.

Critical social theory and adult education

While the politics of the New Left influenced the practice of adult education, for example, in the context of social movements, it was not until later that its influence was felt in academia. Yet, as can be gleaned from the brief summary presented above, critical social theory is located within the tradition of radical thinking and practice that emphasizes the central role of enlightenment and education in the process of social transformation. In this sense, there are important parallels between critical social theory and the British derived pre-Marxist and neo-Marxist humanist ideas and practices that have shaped significantly Anglo-American adult education since the 1790s. Despite this, it was the work of Paulo Freire (1970) that provided the basis for adult education's eventual reception of critical social theory.

As work on Freire in the 1970s and '80s has indicated (e.g. Mackie, 1980), much of his neo-Marxist humanism is derived from the writings of

Erich Fromm, once a close associate of the Frankfurt School. During the 1980s, Freire's indebtedness to Gorgy Lukacs and Agnes Heller has also come into clearer focus. Our point here is not to outline in detail that indebtedness, but simply to underline how Freire's neo-Marxist humanism generally, his interest in philosophic anthropology, his emphasis on ethics and the moral role of the philosopher, and his concern with such issues as consciousness, conscientization, and the central importance of the cultural sphere, did two things. First, it helped shift the focus in radical adult education away from the more mechanistic view of education. Second, as Freire's influence extended beyond the traditional and fairly limited boundaries of radical adult education, his work prompted a much broader spectrum of adult educators to engage many of the issues with which neo-Marxist humanism had long been concerned.

Mezirow was the first adult educator to begin to link Freire's ideas with contemporary critical social theory, but it was not until the mid-1980s before the ground broken by Mezirow's work was explored by others (Little, 1989). This emerging interest prompted the formation of a study group at the Adult Education Research Conference at Syracuse in 1986; momentum was sustained by the efforts of David Little to co-ordinate a network and to organize a series of critical theory pre-conferences. It is against this backdrop that we now examine very briefly the main lines of inquiry pursued by four prominent writers in the field.

1. Jack Meziro.

From his early work in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Jack Mezirow has been consistently interested in both the ways people understand their world and the possibilities open to them to effect a degree of social change. In this sense, he can be located with the social reform tradition in North American adult education. Well before he engaged critical social theory, Mezirow was exploring the emancipatory dimension of the developmental, maturation process he called 'perspective transformation,' a process which he linked with that of consciousness raising in the women's and other social movements and with Paulo Freire's notion of conscientization (Mezirow, 1978).

In the early 1980s, Mezirow turned to Habermas' ideas about the way in which human interest generates knowledge. Habermas (1971) had identified three primary cognitive interests: the technical, the practical, and the emancipatory, which, although interrelated, were each grounded, he held, in different aspects of social existence: work, interaction, and power. Initially Mezirow located his ideas in the emancipatory domain, claiming both that the notion of emancipatory action is the same as perspective transformation, and that knowledge of self-reflection is synonymous with becoming critically aware of the cultural and psychological assumptions that have influenced one's life. Late, as Habermas shifted the focus of his investigations towards a theory of communicative competence, Mezirow (1985) also moved away from a philosophy of consciousness toward a theory of communication.

A number of problems in Mezirow's work were discussed in our earlier critique and are not elaborated upon here (Collard and Law, 1989a). One of our major concerns was Mezirow's lack of a coherent, comprehensive theory of social change. In our view, the essentially liberal democratic character of his ideas inevitably suppress the concept of a radical praxis such as that advanced by Freire. In his response, Mezirow (1989) stated that the intent of his work was to try and "understand how adults learn as a foundation for conceptualizing adult education," and that his focus was "on the central role of the construct of meaning in the learning process" (p. 170). This was followed by an elaboration of the major elements in his emerging theory of transformative learning. Mezirow reconfirmed that Habermas' theory of communicative action provided a social theoretical context for his learning theory, but claimed that he had shifted his views with respect to Habermas' learning domains. Mezirow now suggests that critical reflection, which he now holds as central to emancipatory learning, is applicable to both instrumental and dialogic learning. He further suggests that emancipatory learning should be seen as a process rather than a separate domain.

Although Mezirow's ideas have influenced the work of his colleagues, such as Stephen Brookfield, the influence of critical social theory on that work is slight. Much more important is the little known but impressive attempt by one of Mezirow's students, Linda Ferreira (1986), to offer a comprehensive examination of the relevance of Habermas' theory of communicative action as a theory of adult education practice, in particular, with respect to the ESL curriculum.

2. Mechthild Hart

Drawing on a background of participation in women's consciousness-raising groups and women's collectives, Mechthild Hart (1985; 1989, 1990) has drawn extensively upon critical social theory, in particular the work of Habermas, in order to develop a comprehensive concept of emancipatory education. One of her central concerns is power and its thematization, by which she indicates the development of an understanding of power that unveils the supremacist relation between different sets of norms and values, in particular those of 'femininity' and 'masculinity.' Hart (1985) uses Habermas' distinction between communicative and strategic ('purposive-rational') action to critique the way in which adult education plays a vital role in the general process of social reproduction: in that it reduces problems to technically soluble questions, it fails to "make room for a critical reflection on the nature and quality of our democracy" (p. 110).

She then argues that a mature form of participation in an adult learning process, such as a consciousness-raising group, requires the "capacity to reflect critically upon the values and norms guiding social behaviour' (p. 111). Hart explores the implied legitimacy that informs the norms that are at the basis of social behaviour and applies this analysis to the norms implicit in notions of 'femininity' and 'masculinity.' She holds that the key point of departure for mature learning for women is when they begin to doubt the adequacy of previously taken for granted explanatory systems to explain their experiences. For Hart, experience plays an important role in this learning process, but not all experiences are equally useful. And it is to Freire's (1970) notion of generative themes and his stipulation for the 'existential situation' to be decoded during the process of conscientization that she turns for ideas about the detail of process.

Hart uses Habermas' critique of the ways in which ideological forces work so that the interests of a particular group in society are translated into 'generalizeable interests': what's good for them is good for all. In this way, the interests of other groups are suppressed. Hart (1990) uses this model to discuss the hierarchical relationship between women's and men's experiences. These groups see the world differently because they are situated differently within the social structure. And it is the "power-bound interpretation of this difference," she argues, that "transforms it into a source for inequality" (p. 116).

3. Michael Collins

Of the adult educators working with critical social theory, Michael Collins (undated) has made the most progress in bringing his ideas together in a comprehensive volume. While Collins' indebtedness to critical social theory and Marxism is clear, his work is not rooted in these traditions alone. Collins derives basic ideas about human emancipation, the social purposes of adult education, and its possibilities from the field's own radical tradition. Paine, Hodgkins, Tawney, Lindeman, Horton, Lovett, Gelpi, and Freire are just some of the people from within that tradition whose ideas he engages. His work also shows the influence of the twentieth century Marxists who attempted to think through the relationship between education and radical politics, most notably Rosa Luxemburg and Antonio Gramsci. Finally, phenomenological perspectives, with which Collins (1984) has long been associated, continue to occupy a central place in his analysis.

It is against this backdrop that Collins, like Hart, explores the emancipatory potential of adult education. Collins' attempts to retrieve a sense of mission for adult education reaffirm the strong ethical impulse that runs through the various strands of socialist thought and practice identified above--the search for a more just and humane society. For him one of the contributions of critical social theory is its critique of technocratic rationality. Like Hart, Collins holds that adult education has become ensnared in a 'cult of efficiency' which renders increasing areas of human endeavour "amendable to measurement and techno-bureaucratic control" (Undated, p. 2). And it is this, which he links to the whole thrust towards so-called 'professionalization,' rather than the field's alleged 'marginality,' that is the real crisis confronting adult education.

While Collins holds that critical social theory, in particular Habermas' theory of communicative action, can deepen an understanding of the distortive ways in which the norms associated with a technocratic rationality permeate everyday life, he shares the view that Habermas' ideas on their own are inadequate for a transformative pedagogy. He further notes how some writers in the field have tended to rely on Habermas in order to offer an individual, rather than a social, enlightenment. At this stage in his work, Collins seems to suggest that radical adult educators should draw on the critical social theorists and others in order to strengthen the field's self-understanding of its own radical tradition.

Space does not permit any consideration here of Collins' influence on research in the field; however, in the context of the present discussion, the work of Donovan Plumb (1989; Collins and Plumb 1989) deserves close attention.

4. Michael Welton

By far the most ambitious work of the four adult educators examined here is that of Michael Welton. Building on themes identified in his earlier critique of the theoretical character of North American adult education (Welton, 1987), he is now employing a critical theory perspective to revise the foundations of adult education. Like Collins, Welton's intellectual roots can be located within the Anglo-American radical tradition, particularly Canadian socialist ideas and experiences.

Welton holds that two sets of foundational thinking are in crisis. First, the 'Enlightenment' tradition of Western thought that gave birth to the modern socialist movement; second, foundational thinking in mainstream adult education, notably the 'andragogical' perspective. This demands a comprehensive reformulation of the philosophical, anthropological, and social assumptions which underpin both mainstream and radical adult education; and it is this far from modest project upon which Welton (undated) has now embarked. His principal thesis is that adult learning is central to everyday life and that a theory of emancipatory educational practice requires a deep understanding of the social psychological dynamics of emancipatory learning. Critical social theory, he suggests, offers the conceptual and analytical framework for that analysis. Drawing substantially but not exclusively on the critical theorists, Welton examines in turn the nature of critique, adult education as a field of study, and the complex and highly problematic concept of need. He then uses Habermas' work in particular to explore the notion of adulthood as communicative competence. But Welton is uneasy with contemporary theorists abandonment of Marxism's focus on labour as an organizing concept and with Habermas' substitution of a 'paradigm of language' for the 'paradigm of production.' What is lost in this process, he argues, is an understanding of power and power relations. For Welton, therefore, work retains a central place in the social organization of everyday life and in the structuring of the complex of norms and values that prevail in capitalist societies. Thus he is interested in exploring ways in which the workplace and the culture of work can provide a setting and a means for emanicipatory learning. Not surprisingly, therefore, it is to the radical and radical-reformist ideas about worker education which mainstream North American adult education has neglected for several decades that Welton turns for both theoretical and practical inspiration.

CONCLUSIONS & IMPLICATIONS

These brief summaries of the work of the four adult educators under consideration do not do justice to the scope and depth of their ideas. Nevertheless, the research reported here highlights how the increased reliance on critical social theory emerges between the two key "emancipatory traditions" visible in adult education: that of social transformation (associated in part with the crisis on the political Left) and that of self-actualization (associated with a tarnished if not discredited individualism). It also reveals that while critical social theory retains the strength of the Left's social critique, there is a tendency for some adult educators to focus primarily on subjectivity and on the rise of identity groups, both central to the post-modern critique of society and to the present search for alternative approaches to emancipation. While this use of critical social theory seems cast in a moderate mould, one sympathetic to the political tenor of North America, its importance lies in its emphasis on the centrality of the education of adults in any process of social transformation. At the same time three of the writers--the exception being Mezirow--are concerned with power and power relations and in this respect at least they all find critical social theory inadequate on its own. Finally, it is important to note how both Collins and Welton in particular hold that adult education's own radical tradition still has much to offer those seeking to develop an emancipatory education. In this sense, the field can not only learn from contemporary theoretical debate, it can also offer valuable theoretical and practical insights.

The significance of this preliminary study, which is to be continued and extended, is threefold. First, it presents an overview of some of the directions in which the 'critical turn' in adult education discourse is taking the field; second, it highlights important points of intersection between the radical tradition in adult education and contemporary theoretical concerns and debate; third, it underscores the view that an emancipatory theory of adult learning is a central and necessary element in any social and political theory that aims at social transformation and human emancipation.

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Assessing Adult Learning Strategies

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Learning Strategies

Abstract: While "learning styles are cognitive, affective, and physiological traits that serve as relatively stable indicators of how learners perceive, interact with, and respond to the learning environment" (Keefe, 1982, p. 44), learning strategies are the techniques or skills that an individual elects to use in order to accomplish a specific learning task. Learning strategies differ from learning style in that they are techniques rather than stable traits and they are selected for a specific task. Such strategies vary by individual and by learning objective. Often they are so customary to learners that they are given little thought; at other times much deliberation occurs before a learning strategy is selected for a specific learning task.

In a sense, today's attention to learning strategies grew out of the continued interest of many learning specialists in study skills. Although study skills have been taught for nearly a century in higher education, "what is different today is that we have a better theoretical understanding of the reasons these study strategies work. Cognitive psychology has developed a set of laboratory research studies and theoretical concepts that are much closer to the natural learning settings in which study strategies have been applied" (McKeachie, 1988, p. 3). While learning strategies have grown out of the tradition of study skills, they differ significantly from that tradition. "What is new with the current interest in learning strategies is that it can be based on an emerging cognitive theory of human learning and memory" (Mayer, 1988, p. 21). Rather than skills in note taking, outlining, and test passing, learning strategies tend to focus on solving real problems involving metacognitive, memory, motivational, and critical thinking strategies.

Real-Life Learning

One of the major characteristics of adult learning is that it is often undertaken for immediate application in real-life situations. Sternberg (1990) points out that there are many differences between learning for everyday problems and learning for academic or test-taking situations. First, adults must recognize problems in the real world rather than have problems identified for them by someone such as a teacher. Second, problems have to be not only recognized but also defined because the way they are defined will determine how they are solved. Third, while problems in academic situations are usually well-structured, real-world problems seldom are. Fourth, real-world problems are highly contextualized while school problems are decontextualized. Sixth, relevant information is given for school problems while in real life it is often difficult to discover where to get information or even to know what information is relevant. Seventh, solving real problems often requires the examination of arguments from the opposing side while most school problems teach people to confirm what they already believe. Eighth, while one usually gets clear feedback in school on problems faced, there is seldom clear feedback on real-life problems--until it is too late. Ninth, while academic environments encourage individual solutions to problems, adult problem solving is usually arrived at through group decision processes. Thus, the assessment of adult learning strategies requires that learning episodes be characteristic of real-world problems rather than artificial academic situations.

In investigating the resources used by adult learners and the economic impact of learning activities on a community, Shirk (1990) uncovered nine general categories of learning for real-life situations. These types of learning activities are vocational, domestic, interpersonal, religious, medical, recreational, cultural, political, and other (p. 44).

SKILLS

Since no instrument currently existed to measure adult learning strategies in real-life learning situations, the staff at the Center for Adult Learning Research at Montana State University developed the Self-Knowledge Inventory of Lifelong Learning Strategies (SKILLS). SKILLS consists of a series of 12 scenarios from real-world situations which reflect Shirk's learning categories and which necessitate various types and levels of learning. Questions assess how likely an individual is to use specific strategies for dealing with the learning problem. The instrument can be completed in less than 20 minutes and can be self-scored. SKILLS is based upon five aspects of learning which are essential to the learning process and that have the potential for improvement through the refinement of learning strategies. These are the constructs of metacognition, metamotivation, memory, resource management, and critical thinking.

Metacognition

Metacognition is popularly conceived of as thinking about the process of learning. The concept was introduced into cognitive psychology in the 1970's by Flavell (1976). Others, such as Brown (1982) and Yussen (1985) soon joined Flavell to develop this construct by observing active, knowledgeable learners who had the ability to reflect on and control their learning processes. Such learners appeared able to make their learning activities more efficient. Thus Brown's model of metacognition emphasizes self-regulatory tactics used to insure success in the learning endeavor.

During the early part of this decade cognitive psychologists have investigated extensively metacognitive abilities in children, especially as they relate to study skills, attention, memory, comprehension, and information processing in reading and math. While the concept of metacognition remains a bit hazy, perhaps because various authors attempt to include more and more within the construct, it has become evident that the learner who is conscious of his or her learning processes exercises more control over those processes and becomes a more effective learner.

Although metacognition has not been a commonly used term in adult education, the concept is not unfamiliar in the literature. In describing their adult learning principles, Brundage and MacKeracher (1980) wrote that "learning how to learn...requires that the learner be able to conceptualize his own learning process and be able to pay some attention to how he goes about learning...[and] trust himself to manage this process" (cited Smith, 1982, p. 57). Smith himself argued that "self-understanding links directly to learning how to learn when learners become sensitive to, and in control of the learning process, in other words, more aware of themselves as learners" (p. 57). Earlier Burman (1970) had put it much more simply: "We normally do best those things which we know how to do. I do not think learning is any exception" (p. 50).

Metacognitive strategies are usually divided into three areas. Planning strategies include eliciting purpose from self and the situation, organizing, and identifying the steps essential to the learning process (Yussen, 1985). Metacognitive monitoring keeps learners on the track as they learn. It reminds them of purpose, of resources, of previous experience, and of their strengths and weaknesses. Adjusting strategies help learners evaluate and regulate their learning activities. They include revision of learning plans and change of learning strategies in light of new knowledge or greater insight into the learning task or our own learning abilities.

Memory

In an 1978 address, Neisser (1982) boldly challenged previous research on memory stating that 100 years of effort by psychologists left very little to show because such researchers had avoided the study of memory related to topics interesting or meaningful to the learners. "If X is an interesting or socially significant aspect of memory, then psychologists have hardly ever studied X" (p. 4). Neisser went on to say, "What we want to know, I think, is how people use their own past experiences in meeting the present and the future. We would like to understand how this happens under natural conditions" (p. 12). This speech marks a significant movement to studies of memory as it is used in everyday life.

The study of memory in everyday life poses challenges for researchers. Real-life learning activities vary greatly from individual to individual and can be quite episodic in nature. However, they raise questions such as the following: If the use of imagery improves recall in laboratory situations, does it also work in everyday study situations (Schmeck, 1988)? Can the use of memory strategies such as imagery, grouping, and elaboration help in the learning of English as a second language (O'Malley & others, 1988)? In view of the long history of use of mnemonics in daily activities (Rachal, 1988), can the teaching of specific mnemonic devices support adult memory tasks (Zechmeister & Nyberg, 1982)?

For the most part adult educators seem content to reference traditional studies on memory skills in adults (Long, 1983). No presentations dealing specifically with memory have been presented during the past 5 years at the Adult Education Research Conference. However, several practice-oriented articles have been published in **Lifelong Learning** (Jones & Cooper, 1982; Ogle, 1986), and researchers are now beginning to probe for reasons affecting losses of memory functions rather than just accepting memory differences between young and old people (Ogle, 1986, p. 27).

Critical Thinking

Decision making, problem solving, logic, rational thinking, or, as it is more likely to be called today, critical thinking is an aspect of education that has received intense study for centuries. The renewed interest in critical thinking today is characterized by the content to which it is applied, i.e., the realities of life. In the current information society, learners are bombarded constantly by new information, by newspeak, and by visions. Much is equivocation, propaganda, or at least contradictory to prior information. This more complicated social environment poses new challenges for clear and creative thinking.

Brookfield's (1987) **Developing Critical Thinkers** has caught the attention of many in the field of adult education, perhaps because he has chapters applying his theory of critical thinking to the workplace, to television reporting, to political issues, and to personal relationships. However, the works of Argyris (1982), Meyers (1987), and Stice (1987) are also referenced frequently.

The four components of critical thinking in Brookfield's (1987) model are (a) identifying and challenging assumptions, (b) challenging the importance of context, (c) imagining and exploring alternatives, and (d) reflective skepticism. Such a model moves this approach to thinking from a totally intellectual activity to a more holistic endeavor. As Brookfield insists, "Critical thinking is not seen as a wholly rational, mechanical activity. Emotive aspects--feelings, emotional responses, intuitions, sensing--are central to critical thinking in adult life. In particular, the ability to imagine alternatives to one's current ways of thinking and living is one that often entails a deliberate break with rational modes of thought in order to prompt forward leaps in creativity" (p. 12).

Interest in critical theory introduced a sociological dimension to the concept of critical thinking. Jarvis (1987) offered a model for integrating the personal and social aspects of learning through a reflection on experience. He concluded "learning that results from and the meaning that is attributed to experience depends upon the interrelationship between a personal stock of knowledge and the socio-cultural-temporal milieu within which the experience occurs" (pp. 171-172). Others such as McLaren (1990) and Shor (1980) are attempting to clarify how adults draw meaning from their societal environment and in turn give critical thought to that context.

Metamotivation

Motivation is a nebulous concept defined and described from many differing philosophical, psychological, and educational stances. Because this project centered on human motivation as it related to real-life learning activities and because such adult learning is usually under the active control of the individual, an organismic or humanistic approach to motivation was adopted (Deci & Ryan, 1985). The word **metamotivation** was used to emphasize this learner control of motivational strategies. This was also done to distinguish the traditional juncture of motivation and participation in the field of adult education from the individual's metamotivational energizing and direction given to personal learning.

Tough (1971) directly addressed the motivational patterns found in self-initiated, self-planned learning projects of adults. His conclusion that pleasure, increased self-esteem, and the pleasing of others, in addition to the accomplishment of relevant goals, were useful in clarifying metamotivational strategies. Wlodkowski (1985) reinforced this by insisting that the strongest motivation for learning occurs when adults successfully learn what they value and want to learn in an enjoyable manner.

The ARCS model offered by Keller (1987) supplied a convenient set of categories for the analysis of metamotivational strategies. Attention, relevance, confidence, and satisfaction are the major components of this model. Attention, or the focusing of learning abilities on the material to be learned, appeared to be both essential and controllable. Acknowledging the relevance, enjoyment, or satisfaction produced by a learning activity also increased motivation to learn. The significant impact of confidence on learning had been well documented in previous research on learning style factors (Conti & Fellenz, 1988).

Resource Management

It appears obvious that the resources used to gather information, to check the accuracy and relevance of knowledge, and to apply such data to action have a significant impact on learning. Yet research by Shirk (1990) suggests that adults may not be very adept at identifying and using the most relevant and reliable sources of information. He found that in self-initiated learning projects adults tended to use the most convenient resources such as their own books and magazines, family, friends, and neighbors. Although these same learners rated these sources as less effective, they indicated they would continue to rely on them. Other research, especially on older adults, indicates that many adults do not keep up with advances in technology. Habits regarding information seeking developed early in life may become permanent.

Resource management strategies were divided into the three categories of identification of appropriate learning resources, critical use of such sources, and the use of human resources in learning. Effective selection of resources depends on both awareness of appropriate sources and confidence in one's ability to use such sources. Critical use implies not only questioning the reliability or biased nature of a source but also recognizing the value of networking and improving resource management. The specification of human resources as a special category was an attempt to recognize the powerful impact of people and the social environment on learning. Suggested strategies include dialogue with people of different viewpoints and the use of discussion to study problems.

Validity

Validity is concerned with what a test actually measures (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 457). "Unless we have a fairly adequate answer to this question [of what does this test measure], any test will be useless in our attempts to deal wisely with human beings--adults or children" (Tyler & Walsh, 1979, p.28). While there are several types of validity, the three most important types recognized in educational research are construct, content, and criterion-related validity (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 457). These may be established in a variety of ways; however, they should be compatible with the overall purpose of the test (Borg & Gall, 1983, p. 275; Van Dalen, 1979, pp. 135-136). Because establishing validity is essential to the credibility of any test and because it involves several steps, "the validation of a test is a long process rather than a single event" (Tyler & Walsh, 1979, p. 29). After the validity of the items of the instrument have been established, the instrument's overall reliability can be determined.

Construct Validity

Construct validity assesses the underlying theory of the test. It is the extent to which the test can be shown to measure hypothetical constructs which explain some aspect of human behavior (Borg & Gall, 1983, p.280; Van Dalen, 1979, p.137). It is the element that allows for the assigning of "meaning" to the test (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 461).

The process of establishing construct validity for SKILLS consisted of literature reviews and obtaining judgement on the constructs from a group of adult education and educational psychology professors. Exhaustive literature reviews were conducted on each of the five constructs and culled for information related to **adult** learning. Concepts from this review were then linked to scenarios of general areas of adult learning indicated by Shirk. In addition to Robert Sternberg assessing SKILLS, a group of adult educators and Wilbert McKeachie reviewed the constructs and accompanying strategies at a summer institute at the Center for Adult Learning Research. McKeachie reviewed the instrument separately and provided comments to the entire group. The adult educators then critiqued the instruments in small groups. The consensus of the group was that the instrument indeed addressed the five theoretical constructs of metacognition, metamotivation, memory, critical thinking, and resource management. It was also agreed that the scenarios represented a variety of real-life situations. However, several suggestions were made for modifying the response options and the scenario selections so that individuals could more easily tailor their personal responses to the situations that were most relevant to them and their real-life situations.

Content Validity

Content validity refers to the sampling adequacy of the content of the instrument (Kerlinger, 1973, p. 458). For SKILLS, content validity is concerned with the degree to which the items are representative of learning strategies used by adults in real-life situations. Content validity is determined through expert judgement because it cannot be expressed quantitatively (Gay, 1987, p. 130). The usual process of establishing content validity is to ask qualified judges to make a judgement concerning how well the items represent the content area (Gay, 1987, p. 130; Van Dalen, 1979, p. 136). Therefore, the jury selected to assess the initial constructs in the instrument was also asked to judge the degree to which all relevant real-life scenarios were included in the test and the degree to which the items reflected the theoretical constructs of the instrument. This judgement provided a measure of sampling validity.

A second form of content validity is item validity. This validity is concerned with whether the text items measure the overall, intended content area (Gay, 1987, p. 129). This was established through the logical process of assessing whether adults responded to the items in meaningful patterns.

Item validity was established by field testing SKILLS with adult learners in various learning situations throughout the country in diverse locations such as adult basic education programs, graduate and undergraduate university courses, museums, health care facilities, extension education programs, and elderhostel programs. From sites such as these, 253 sample sets of responses were collected; each set consisted of six scenarios. The field-test group ranged in age from 17 to 73 with an average of slightly over 37-years of age. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents were female (62.8%). Although some had a very limited education, nearly three-fourths (73%) had completed a high-school level education. The group also represented a variety of residential areas: Large city over 250,000--29.8%; City of 100,000 to 250,000--5.3%; Town of 20,000 to 100,000--33.5%; Small town of 1,000 to 20,000--21.8%; and Rural area under 1,000--9.6%. Most (91.4%) spoke English as their primary language. Many occupations were represented in the group including educators, students, clerical workers, farmers, blue-collar workers, and homemakers. This diverse group of adults was from the West, Southwest, and Midwest.

Responses from the field-testing confirmed the assessment of the jury of adult educators. Although the items distinguished various learning strategies, respondents tended to respond that they would use a wide variety of learning strategies. Therefore, the answer sheet was modified for future use to force respondents to group the strategies into three categories according to their likelihood to use them. This will provide a ranking of the strategies based upon the individual's priorities. In addition, directions were changed so that the respondents will first read a brief overview of the various scenarios and then select the scenarios which were most relevant to them.

Reliability

SKILLS consists of 12 scenarios. While each scenario represents a different type of real-life situation, each of the scenarios is composed of 18 similar types of questions. Therefore, each scenario is designed as an equivalent form of the other scenarios. To establish the overall reliability for SKILLS, a coefficient of equivalence was calculated.

For the field-test version of SKILLS, the respondents were provided six scenarios. Each scenario contained 18 items. Respondents rated each item on the following scale: (a) "Yes, I would use this strategy"; (b) "I might possibly use it"; (c) "No, I would not use it". For the reliability check, the answers for 130 respondents were grouped into two categories. One category consisted of the scenarios dealing with local history, repairing a bike, and cholesterol level. The other contained the scenarios for writing a letter to the editor, job regulations, and care of a relative. Each category thus contained similar types of scenarios. The correlation between forms was .71; this is an estimate of the reliability of the instrument if it consisted of 54 (3 scenarios x 18 items) items. Since the instrument actually consisted of the full 108 items, the equal length Spearman-Brown of .83 and the Guttman split-half of .83 are more accurate measures of the reliability of SKILLS.

A second correlation of equivalence was calculated for the other set of six scenarios. These two groupings consisted of (a) scenarios dealing with pet care, selecting leaders, and a vacation in Yellowstone Park and (b) scenarios dealing with auto insurance, dental care, and burial customs. The correlations for the 53 cases in this grouping were as follows: correlation between forms--.72, equal length Spearman-Brown--.84, and Guttman split-half--.84. Since all of these correlations are similar and are either at or above the commonly accepted standard of .7, SKILLS is a reliable instrument for assessing adult learning strategies in real-life situations.

Conclusion

A new instrument for assessing the use of learning strategies by adults in a variety of real-life situations has been developed. Although its construct and content validity have been established, further modifications are being made in the instrument's format and answering structure to increase the discriminating power of individual items, to strengthen its reliability, and to make it more relevant to respondents.

In reviewing SKILLS, McKeachie suggested that the final form of the instrument has several potential uses. It may be used as an individual learning tool for personal diagnosis to get people thinking about how they learn. Teachers can use it to think about what students are doing. In the research area, it can be used to uncover what people do concerning learning and may be useful in discovering if certain learning strategies are more effective than others in various situations and with various groups of adult learners.

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CLASS AGE COMPOSITION & ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

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Abstract: Research with individuals as the unit of analysis has found no direct relationship between age and academic achievement. The present study investigated classroom-level age composition effects on academic achievement operationalized as course grade. The hypothesis that achievement would be highest in predominantly adult classes and lowest in predominantly "college-age" classes was confirmed.

Introduction

As far as we know, this was the first study to explore the effects of age composition on academic achievement in college classrooms. It was posited that certain differences between adults and pre-adults exert significant effects in the classroom. Specifically, the proportion of adults affects the expectations for normative behaviors in the college classroom with respect to the role of student. These expectations and resultant normative behaviors strongly influence the classroom social environment in ways that promote academic performance independent of age per se. Among the norms associated with adults are active participation in class, completing assignments, academic honesty, seriousness of purpose, and high academic expectations for self and others. These, and other adult norms, are directly conducive to superior academic achievement. We posited, on theoretical grounds, that the presence of adults in the class will influence pre-adult behavioral expectations to be more congruent with adult expectations. We also posited that late adolescents are likely to acquiesce to adult norms and expectations. Consequently, we expected to find that both adult and pre-adult students in predominantly adult classrooms would perform better academically than would adults and pre-adults in predominantly pre-adult classrooms.

Related Research

Perhaps the first study to examine directly the impact of age composition on the process and content of learning in the classroom was conducted by Elder (1967). The research was undertaken at a "continuation school" in California. This was a secondary school attended by both adults and adolescents. Most of the adolescents could not handle, or be handled, by regular high school. The adults were either diploma candidates or were seeking to improve their basic educational or technical skills. Data on adult-youth interaction and on the educational process in the school were obtained through field observations, interviews, and questionnaires.

With respect to the interpersonal domain, Elder pointed to the primary-type friendships between adults and youth that age integrated classrooms could foster. These primary type friendships facilitate anticipatory socialization, in which "adolescents learn the responsibilities, rights, and behaviors patterns appropriate to future roles" (Elder, 1967, p. 595).

Concerning the academic and vocational domains, Elder noted that adult students bring a life history that has potential academic and vocational significance for their younger classmates. At the same time, their returning to school "reflects a certain amount of courage, considerable sacrifice, motivation for self-improvement, and the necessity and relevance of completing a high-school education for successful employment" (Elder, 1967, p. 595).

Important for this study is Elder's caveat that the ratio of adults to adolescents is a critical determinant of the interpersonal environment conducive to the primary relations mentioned above. Elder considered an equal balance of adults and pre-adults in the classrooms as the ideal. He reasoned that a larger proportion of adults could represent a controlling force in the classroom leading to adolescent resentment and the negating of beneficial effects. However, his findings contradicted his theory. A large rather than small proportion of adult students in the classroom was associated with favorable attitudes and experiences among the adolescents. In fact, Elder observed that the actual adult proportion in the classroom had a direct relationship to the expression of desired proportion. That is, when there were more adults in the classroom adolescents expressed a preference for a larger ratio of adults when asked their opinion of the optimum proportion of adults to pre-adults.

The benefits derived, as perceived by youth, from the presence of adults in the classroom centered around three broad themes: improved conditions for learning, tendency to acquire a broader perspective and learn more, and greater desire to do well. For adults, the most commented-upon benefit was improved interpersonal relationships, within and outside the classroom. From the perspective of the school system, the presence of adults was viewed as having value for the pre-adults. However, as Elder noted, a history of age-graded education has contributed to the incapacity on the part of educators to envision the potential educational value of age-integrated classrooms.

The value of age-integrated classrooms was the focus of a study by Carter (1988) that explored the interaction of adult students, adolescents, and their shop instructors in a vocational school. Carter administered a modified version of Elder's 1967 questionnaire to 50 shop instructors, youth, and adult students for a total N of 150.

Carter found that participants perceived the learning environment to be enhanced by cross-age interpersonal relationships. The presence of adults in shops with teenagers was found to have value for both groups. The adolescents expressed the belief that adults in the shop classroom promoted better instruction; they also viewed the industry, enthusiasm, and goal-orientation of the adult students as strongly positive influences on their own behavior. Like the adolescents, the adults uniformly favored age-integrated classes. Carter recommended that future research examine the educational outcomes of age-integrated schools, especially with respect to achievement.

Additional studies relevant to the present inquiry are discussed in Kasworm's (1990) review of research on adult undergraduates in higher education. Significantly, not one of the studies reviewed examined the effects of classroom age composition on academic achievement.

The conceptual framework of the study was grounded primarily in role and socialization theory. In brief, behavior in the classroom is influenced by cues of approval or disapproval and the creation of an environment that perpetuates and reinforces a particular group culture. The culture promoted by the presence of adults, influenced by adult norms, is one that facilitates learning and achievement. Thus it is expected that mixed-age classes with the highest proportion of adults will exhibit the highest level of academic achievement.

Purpose and Hypothesis

The purpose of the research was to examine the effects of age composition in college classrooms on aggregate classroom achievement. It was hypothesized that:

Aggregate classroom achievement will be highest in predominantly adult classrooms, next highest in mixed-aged classrooms, and lowest in predominantly pre-adult classrooms.

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following definitions apply:

1. **Adult**: Anyone who did not enter college directly from high school, but waited at least one year before continuing his or her education and who is 24 years of age or older.
2. **Pre-Adult**: Anyone who entered college directly from high school and who is 23 years old or younger.
3. **Academic achievement**: Course grade at end of semester.

Methodology

Data source: The sample consisted of evening credit students in 44 randomly selected classes in a mixed urban/suburban community college. Total N was 619 taught by 30 different instructors. Fifty-three percent were female, 74% were employed fulltime, 84% were white and 85% were high school graduates or had attended college for one to three years.

Design: Age was trichotomized into pre-adult (age 23 or younger), young adult (age 24-29), and mature adult (age 30 or older). Classes were categorized as predominantly adult or pre-adult using the criterion of 60% or more of classmembers in one or the other age category. Mixed-age classes were those not meeting the 60% or more dominance criterion. Age and background data for each student in each class were obtained from official college records. End-of-course grades were also obtained from records. The methods and procedures employed in the study were unobtrusive and objective and therefore obviated common and serious sources of invalidity and unreliability.

Analysis: The data were analyzed using a 3 x 3 factorial analysis of variance (three class age composition groups, three chronological age status groups). Mean grades aggregated by class age composition categories were the dependent measures. The Scheffe test was used to determine the statistical significance of differences among the three class age composition mean grade scores.

Findings

As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the hypothesized relationships were strongly supported by the data.

Table 1
MANOVA Summary: Mean Course Grade by Class Age Composition and Class Age Status Category

Source (Type III)	SS	F	P	Variance
Class Age Composition	20.66	68.30	.00001	.252
Age Status Categories	.05	.17	.842	
Interaction	.52	.86	.486	

Table 2
Mean Course Grade by Class Age Composition and Class Age Status Category

Class Age Composition Category	Age Status Category		
	Pre-Adult	Young Adult	Mature Adult
Predominantly Adult	1.71	1.82	1.78
Mixed-Age	2.20	2.23	2.17
Predominantly Pre-Adult	2.61	2.50	2.67

To interpret the scores in Table 2 it is important to keep in mind the grading system used at the college: A grade of A = 1.0, B = 2.0, C = 3.0, D = 4.0, and F = 5.0 Thus, the lower the score, the higher the letter grade.

The data shown in Table 2 exhibit an obvious and pronounced pattern. Regardless of chronological age status, student achievement was highest in predominantly adult classes, next highest in mixed age classes, and lowest in predominantly pre-adult classes. The overall mean for the predominantly adult classes (the average of the first row above) was 1.80. The overall means for mixed-age and predominantly pre-adult classes were 2.20 and 2.59 respectively. All differences between means were statistically significant beyond the .05 probability level (Scheffe tests).

Inspection of the sums of squares and the F value with its corresponding p value in Table 1 shows the magnitude of the main effect for class age composition. The age status and interaction effects are virtually nil. Age itself explains none of the variance in academic achievement. In sharp contrast, class age composition (a predominance of adults) accounts for one-fourth of the variance associated with academic achievement. Moreover, the differences in average grades are so great that they have substantive or practical and not just statistical significance. On average, students of all ages in predominantly adult classes earned a B/B+ grade (1.80), those in mixed-age classes a C+/B- (2.20), and those in predominantly pre-adult classes a C/C+ (2.59).

Conclusion

The powerful class age composition effects reported here underscore the importance of the classroom environment in mediating classroom processes and outcomes. Aggregate student characteristics, such as age and gender, strongly influence role expectations and thus normative role behavior (Darkenwald, 1987; Darkenwald & Beer, 1989). It follows then that level of analysis is a critical theoretical and methodological issue in research concerned with group learning and instruction. Past research has almost always used the individual as the unit of analysis, thus contradicting the most elemental truism in behavioral science--that human behavior is a function of interactions between individuals and their physical and social environments.

A single study demonstrating powerful effects may be suggestive, but does not "prove" that the observed relationships are stable and generalizable. Consequently, replications are needed in a variety of age-integrated educational settings. One is now being completed in a selective university evening college.

Secondary analyses not reported above revealed no substantial effects for control variables such as course subject matter. The principal alternative hypothesis seems to be this: Instructors who teach both predominantly adult and predominantly pre-adult classes give higher grades to students in the former classes. The study noted above will include a test of this proposition.

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The Redesign of Continuing Education as a "Practical Problem" What Teachers Have to Say

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Abstract: Recent studies have described an "emerging model" for thinking about, planning, and conducting continuing education for the professions. Rather than a technical problem, this view suggests that the design of continuing education should be viewed more as a "practical problem". This study investigates the extent to which the beliefs, values, and assumptions embedded in this view are reflected in the preferences for continuing education expressed by a group of teachers. The results lend support to the usefulness of this perspective in continuing education for teachers and other professionals.

Background and Significance

Inservice or continuing education (CE) for practicing teachers has received relatively little attention from the voices prominent within the educational reform movement. There is reason to believe, however, that a "redesign" (Copa & Copa, 1990) of CE for teachers and other professionals is needed. Continuing educators are heavily influenced by a model of CE that is relatively ineffective and apparently irrelevant to the continuing education needs of practitioners (Cervero, 1988). Within the last 10 years, however, research in continuing education and adult learning has resulted in an "emerging" model of CE (Cervero, 1989), which views the design of CE more as a "practical problem" (Schon, 1983, 1987; Copa & Copa, 1990) than a technical one. The purpose of this paper is to determine how well the major characteristics of this model reflect the expressed preferences of vocational educators for the form and content of CE in their field. We will argue that the study of the CE needs of this group of professionals has implications for research and practice in other professional disciplines as well.

Continuing Education as a Practical Problem

The "emerging model" of CE described by Cervero (1989) and Schon (1987) reflects the central ideas embedded in the concept of "practical problem". As it is used here, the word "practical" has particular meaning. We all confront and deal with practical problems, however, in our personal and professional lives: "How can I spend more time with my family and still do the work that needs to be done?" "What should I teach in this course? What should be my intended outcomes?" Therefore, the phenomenon of practical problem is very familiar to us all. Practical problems reflect the following characteristics (Copa & Copa, 1990): 1) They are questions that require answers and action to be taken; 2) Decisions must be made in an atmosphere of uncertainty, ambiguity, and doubt; 3) Each problem must be seen within a unique, concrete, and historical context; 4) Each problem is unique in some way; 5) Resolution of practical problems requires resolution of competing value claims and interests; 6) The specific outcomes of approaches used to address practical problems can never be fully known or predicted; and 7) The basis for making judgments about practical problems rests with the state of affairs desired (e.g., a more democratic, self-directed community of learners).

These characteristics are then reflected in the nature of planning and implementing CE programs. From this perspective, the problems of practice in CE are seen as constructed within given situations and are seldom clearly defined, well formulated, or unambiguous. The ends or purposes of practice in CE are not given or taken for granted but may, in fact, be disputed among practitioners with competing interests or value orientations (Cervero, 1988). The grounds for making decisions about specific ends of CE programs are necessarily uncertain, contextual, unique, value-laden, and the results unpredictable. Specific assumptions regarding knowledge and knowing are also reflected in CE as a practical problem. Emphasis is placed on problem setting or finding, rather than problem solving (Cervero, 1988). Knowledge is viewed as contextual and specific to the concrete practice situation at hand (Schon, 1983), and acquired through utilization of and reflection on specific cases from prior experiences (Glasner, 1984).

Assumptions regarding the ends of CE, the nature of problems addressed, and the nature of knowing are then manifest in the concrete activities of CE. The perspective of CE as a practical problem stresses dialogical, interactive, and even confrontational methods. Stress is placed on locating the authority for program planning and development in CE within the experiences of the vocational education teachers themselves (Grunewald, 1987). All individuals involved in CE participate actively and reflectively in the planning and implementation of the program. "Judgments cannot be relegated to experts" (Copa & Copa, 1990, p. 44). Learning strategies are grounded in the participants' own experiences.

The view of CE as a practical problem places considerable responsibility for CE on the teachers themselves. To what extent, however, do teachers share the dominant assumptions, beliefs and values reflected in this model? To address this question, we chose to focus on three aspects of the emerging model: 1) contextual specificity, 2) participant involvement, and 3) experiential and interactive methods. Our study was designed to determine whether these characteristics are illustrated by the preferences that vocational educators express for the form and content of CE.

Methods

Vocational educators who are currently certified by the State of Nebraska (N = 2,248) were surveyed through a self-report questionnaire. The questionnaire was prepared by a panel comprised of teacher trainers, graduate students, administrators, and classroom teachers. Quantitative and qualitative data were elicited in the form of ratings and rankings, and open-ended comments, respectively. The Crobach alpha reliability coefficient for the attitudinal scales was .96. The survey instrument was pilot tested with 39 local vocational educators. To insure an adequate confidence level, the final sample consisted of 625 teachers from throughout the state. Stratified random sampling was employed to insure selection of a proportionate number of educators from each area of certification and sufficient representation of each district size. The survey was mailed the last week in April. The response rate was 41%. No formal follow-up was attempted. The results of the survey were tabulated and descriptive analyses were conducted using SPSS-X. Inferential statistics were not conducted as part of this study. Teacher comments were analyzed using content analysis procedures. The analyses were interpreted from the perspective of the questions identified in the previous section. This paper reports on the part of the questionnaire which related to their perceived needs for content and preferences for continuing education activities.

Results

The results are reported in terms of the quantitative rankings of teachers for preferred CE activities and their perceived understanding of various topics related to their practice, and the results of the content analysis of teachers' comments which were solicited as part of the ranking of CE activities. These analyses were used to partially address the question of whether vocational education teachers preferred CE activities which are consistent with the kinds of activities implied in view of CE as a "practical problem". This model also suggests that curricular content for CE will reflect the specific needs of the context in which teachers work. Thus, we examined the teachers' perceived needs to determine the level of variability that exists across endorsement areas. A finding of considerable variability across areas would be consistent with the emerging model. Analysis by school or district was not undertaken for this paper, due the extreme complexity involved in such a state-wide analysis.

Quantitative Analysis. Descriptive statistics were computed and analyzed to determine overall preferences for CE activities and perceived areas of need, and to determine if large differences existed across endorsement areas with respect to these issues. Five CE activities were ranked (with 1 being most preferred). The rankings of CE activities for the sample overall are (mean ranks are provided in the parentheses): Inservice workshops (2.0); Observation and Work with Peers (2.2); Graduate Coursework in Education (3.3); Graduate Coursework (other than education) (3.7); and Reading in Professional Journals (3.9). Workshops and observation were ranked either first or second by all endorsement areas, with the exception of marketing education, in which Observation received a relative rank of 4. Reading received a relative rank of either 4 or 5 in all endorsement areas. Graduate education received a relative ranking of 3 from six of the eight endorsement areas. Graduate coursework received a relative rank of 2 from teachers in marketing education and a relative rank of 5 from teachers in health occupations. Thus, with two notable exceptions, the teachers in the eight endorsement areas demonstrated fairly good agreement on their relative ranks of the different CE activities.

Teachers were asked to rate 15 possible curricular areas, in terms of their present level of understanding, from 1 (high level of understanding) to 5 (low level of understanding). Items receiving a rating of less than 2 were interpreted as topics for which the teachers perceived the least need. A finding of little or no agreement across endorsement areas would be consistent with the idea of the need for context specificity. The results of these ratings present a mixed picture. Across all endorsement areas, the following topics were perceived to be least understood (and, thus, of highest need): Multicultural issues (2.0); School organization and finance (2.0); Social and political role of schools (2.0); and Needs of Special Populations (2.1). Topics for which there was the highest perceived understanding (least need) were: Content in your subject area (1.3); Classroom management (1.5); and Growth and development (1.6). Agreement was observed across endorsement areas at either end of the perceived understanding scale. For example, teachers in all endorsement areas rated "Needs of Special Populations" as the topic of which they have the least or next to the least understanding, while they rated Content in their Subject Area as the topic they understood the most. There were no obvious patterns of agreement among the remaining 13 topics, with endorsement areas often differing considerably in their perceived levels of understanding in the different areas.

Qualitative Analysis. Respondents were invited to write comments relative to their rankings of preference for continuing education activities. These comments were transcribed verbatim and subjected to content analysis. The intent of this analysis was to determine the extent to which these comments are consistent with the beliefs, assumptions, and values reflected in the view of CE as a practical problem. The request for comments was open ended and nonspecific.

An initial analysis revealed that a great majority of the comments shared in common the aspect of reason or rationale for the rankings of preference. This then became the basis for the focus of the content analysis. Further analysis suggested that the comments reflected four principal groups of "domains" of reasons given by the teachers for ranking the CE activities. With respect to these activities, the comments reflected characteristics of 1) content provided; 2) processes used; 3) the facilitators, leaders, or instructors; and 4) self-learning.

Comments within each of these domains were then subjected to further content analysis. More than half the comments made by the teachers related to the Content domain of CE activity. The majority of the teachers' comments regarding their preferences for CE activities based on content reflect a concern for the applicability and practicality of the content, and relevance of the content to themselves and/or their practices. Additional characteristics that were identified in the teachers' comments include the extent to which the content represents new material, ideas and techniques for the teacher; the currency of the content; and the extent to which participants are involved in the generation of the content.

Comments within the Process domain represented several characteristics regarding how CE activities are implemented. Activities that used application, demonstration, hands-on, or how-to processes, and involvement and interaction of participants in the process were the characteristics most frequently represented in this domain. Additional comments suggest that preferred CE activities are characterized by the processes that make effective and efficient use of time; are individualized and specific to the context of the individual teachers; focus on particular content or topic; and are oriented to change in classroom behavior of the teachers.

Somewhat fewer comments were recorded for the domains of Facilitator and Self-assessment. Comments within the Facilitator domain reflected two fundamental characteristics viewed as desirable of the facilitator, instructor, or leader of a CE activity: a) Competent and knowledgeable; and c) Adaptive to participants' individual needs and situations. Most of the comments recorded within the Self-Learning domain reflected the characteristic of self-assessment. That is, teachers valued a particular CE activity to the extent that it provided them with an opportunity to evaluate or assess the strengths and weaknesses of their present classroom practices. Additional characteristics observed within this domain included the capacity of the activity to motivate the teachers and to create or stimulate the adoption of a new perspective on one's teaching.

In summary, teachers are looking for content that is practical and has immediate application to their classroom situation, and they want to have input into what this content should be. They want CE processes to be participatory and highly experiential. Woven throughout the comments is the idea of "peer teaching" - of observing, being observed by, and sharing experiences, techniques, and strategies with other teachers within one's school and one's area of expertise. Teachers are looking for facilitators of workshops and courses who are "experts" within their given area and can facilitate the development of that expertise within their CE participants. Finally, vocational education teachers are looking to CE activities as a way of identifying their strengths as a classroom teacher and those areas of practice in which they can improve or change.

The analysis of teacher comments regarding their rankings of preferred CE activities suggests that such rankings are made on the basis of a fairly explicit rationale. This rationale involves concerns for the content of the activity, processes used, competence of the facilitator, and the capacity of the activity to facilitate self-learning. Comments within each of these categories reflect a strong, individualized, context specific view of CE activities for vocational education teachers.

Discussion and Implications

A major thrust of this study was to determine the extent to which certain characteristics of an "emerging model" (Cervero, 1989) are reflected in the preferences and perceived needs of vocational education teachers for CE activities and topics. The findings from quantitative and qualitative analyses largely support the characteristics of context-specificity, interaction, involvement, and collaboration among teachers and staff in planning, developing, and implementing continuing education programs. The teachers' preferences and rationale for these preferences suggest underlying beliefs, assumptions, and values that are consonant with the view of CE as a practical problem. The CE activities most preferred by the teachers in our sample are those which are directed to specific problems and contexts and allow for a high level of participation and interaction (Inservice Workshops and Observation and Work with Other Teachers). Analyses of open-ended comments suggest that teachers make decisions about CE activities on the basis of the capacity of these activities to address the contextually specific concerns that they bring to the activity. In addition, comments in the Content domain also indicate a strong preference by the teachers for involvement in the generation of this content. Teachers articulated a strong preference for activities that are experiential, interactive, highly involving, and individualized to the teacher's unique context. Effective facilitators are characterized as being able to adapt to the individual needs of the teachers, and activities are valued that contribute to an individual teacher's capacity to identify areas of need and change his or her classroom practice (self-learning).

The quantitative analysis of the perceived content needs of the teachers is also supportive of the model. As we indicated earlier, the teachers appeared to agree, with respect to ratings of their understanding, on only two of the 15 topics listed - Needs of Special Populations (high need) and Content in their Subject Area (low need). Relatively little agreement was observed across areas of endorsement for the remaining 13 topics. Taken as a whole, the results of this analysis are supportive of the claim that the development of curriculum for inservice or continuing education programs must take place within the specific contexts of the teachers' practices. In this instance, the context is being defined as area of endorsement. The teachers demonstrated remarkable agreement on the two areas identified above. There appear to be obvious explanations for these areas of agreement. The topic of Needs of Special Populations has been receiving considerable attention across Nebraska through governmental mandates and other legislative matters which underscore the importance of this issue to society. Thus, we can expect many educators to reflect this major, important concern of society in their ratings. They also felt the least need for specific content in their respective subject areas. This seems likely, given their specialized training and the additional demands beyond their subject matter that are currently being placed on teachers.

This study addresses only certain aspects of the emerging model and much work remains in terms of further corroborating the findings presented here and in investigating additional implications represented in the model. The conceptual idea of CE as a "practical problem", however, appears to be a fruitful way to think about the improvement of CE for vocational education teachers. As continuing educators in the professions, we need to focus more on the needs and context of the individual teachers for whom these programs are intended, and the problematic nature of designing programs to meet those needs. This need lends itself to a new vision or design for continuing education in the professions.

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The Effects of Barriers to Participation and Attitudes Toward Adult Education on Small Business Managers' Participation in Adult Education

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Abstract: In this study, discriminant analysis was utilized to determine which select variables contributed most to the separation of small business management participants from nonparticipants in adult educational activities.

Introduction

Small business firms fail at an unusually high rate. This high failure has been attributed primarily to management incompetence. Despite the apparent need for additional knowledge and skill, numerous small business managers decide not to participate in adult educational activities. Do small business managers decide not to participate because they perceive some barrier or deterrent to adult education participation? Do small business managers decide not to participate because they possess an unfavorable attitude toward adult education? Consequently, before any action could be taken in designing or delivering educational experiences for small business managers, their perceptions and attitudes toward participating in adult educational activities had to be identified.

Methodology

The study investigated the participation of small business managers in adult education activities. The population for this study was small business managers working within the state of Nebraska who were members of the Nebraska State Chamber of Commerce (NSCOC). The 1988 membership of the NSCOC consisted of a wide range of diverse small business managers including such job classifications as accountants, architects, attorneys, carpet cleaners, contractors, morticians, and podiatrists. The diversity of this group allowed for Darkenwald and Valentine's (1985) recommendation that replication of the Deterrents to Participation Scale-General (DPS-G) should be performed with a heterogeneous population in order to enhance generalizability (p.187).

The Nebraska small business managers selected for participation in this study resided in every geographical location in the state, possessed various income levels, had varied educational backgrounds, had different business experience, represented both genders, and were of a wide variety of age. From the population of approximately 1,450, a random sample of 600 small business managers was obtained from the 1988 membership roster. A total of 302 questionnaires were returned for a response rate of 50.3%. The two major Nebraska cities of Lincoln and Omaha made up 49% of the sample, while 51% of the sample consisted of participants from cities and towns with populations of less than 35,000 residents.

The Deterrents to Participation Scale for the General Population (DPS-G) and the Adult Attitudes Toward Continuing Education Scale (AACES) were used to measure the variables of barriers to participation in adult education activities and the attitudes of small business managers toward adult education. The DPS-G was developed by Darkenwald and Valentine (1985) to identify perceived deterrents to participation in adult education by the general population. Darkenwald and Hayes (1988) constructed the AACES to determine adult attitudes toward continuing education. Since these instruments were newly constructed, it was necessary to further test them for general reliability and validity. Once the instruments' reliability and validity were established, they were utilized along with demographic variables to discriminate small business management participants from nonparticipants in adult educational activities.

Description of Respondents

The 1988 NSCOC was the population sampled for this study. The participants had an average age of 48.1 years with a standard deviation of 11.8 years. The respondents' ages ranged from 24 years to 81 years. Of this group 78.3% were males, and 21.7% were females. The educational level of respondents ranged from 9 to 18 years with an average of 15.2 years. Their taxable income was substantial and ranged from $12,480 to $500,000 with an average of $73,573. Respondents' years in business ranged from 1 year to 65 years with an average of 22.3 years. This group had participated in adult educational activities; the participation status of respondents revealed that 66.9% had participated while 33.1% had not participated.

The group varied in its perceived barriers to participation in adult education and its attitude towards continuing education. On the Deterrents to Participation Scale for the General Population (DPS-G), which has a possible range of 34 to 170, the group's average score was 73.6; their scores ranged from 34 to 135 with a standard deviation of 19. On the Adult Attitudes Toward Continuing Education Scale (AACES), which has a possible range of 22 to 110, the group's average was 88.3; their scores ranged from 29 to 110 with a standard deviation of 10.4

An analysis of the group means for the various variables indicated that participants and nonparticipants did not differ greatly on most of the variables. Both groups contained an equal division of males and females. However, on all the variables except for the DPS-G, the participant group scored higher than the nonparticipant group. On the AACES adult education participants scored an average of 90.2 and nonparticipants scored 84.5. On the DPS-G, participants scored an average of 72.4 and nonparticipants 73.1. The average age of participants was 48.2 years, and nonparticipants was 46.1 years. Participants had an average educational level of 15.3 years, and nonparticipants had 14.9 years. The average income of the participants was $76,251, and nonparticipants income was $68,680. Finally, participants had an average of 22.8 years experience, and nonparticipants had 20.3 years. Although the participants group was consistently higher on these variables, the AACES was the only variable with a sizeable difference between the means of the two groups. The only variable that the nonparticipants scored higher on was the DPS-G. A high score on the DPS-G is a negative score. However, this difference was inconsiderable.

Reliability

Reliability is a measure of the consistency of an instrument (Kerlinger, 1973). In this study the internal consistency of the DPS-G and the AACES was examined with the Cronbach alpha. The DPS-G item Cronbach reliability coefficient was .90 for the small business population in Nebraska. This finding compares with a Cronbach reliability coefficient of .86 obtained by Darkenwald and Valentine (1985) in their suburban New Jersey study. The AACES item Cronbach reliability coefficient was .92 for the small business managers in Nebraska. This finding compares with a Cronbach reliability coefficient of .90 obtained by Darkenwald and Hayes (1988) in their earlier study. These findings suggest that the DPS-G and the AACES are both reliable, consistent instruments that can be used with the general population in diverse environments.

Construct Validity

Construct validity refers to "the degree to which a test measures an intended hypothetical construct, or nonobservable trait" (Gay, 1987, p. 542). Factor analysis was used to determine the construct validity of the DPS-G and the AACES. Factor analysis is "a statistical technique used to identify a relatively small number of factors that can be used to represent relationships among sets of many interrelated variables" (Norusis, 1988, p. B-41). This study found four conceptually meaningful factors on the DPS-G and three on the AACES.

The Deterrents to Participation Scale

It was determined that the most conceptually meaningful solution for the DPS-G was four factors. These factors were consistent with those established in the literature. The expected Darkenwald and Valentine (1985) deterrent factors of Time, Course Structure, Self-Concept, and Personal Problems were found. Even though the factors of Cost and Low Personal Priority were not as clearly separated as they were in the Darkenwald and Valentine study, the four other deterrent factors provide support for the multidimensionality of the deterrents construct. Thus, deterrents to participation in adult educational activities appear to be more complex than intuitively believed.

The Adult Attitudes Toward Continuing Education Scale

In this study, the variables on the AACES formed three factors. These three conceptually meaningful factors were Personal Need and Benefit, Formal Learning, and Participation in Continuing Education. In contrast, Darkenwald and Hayes (1988) decided that the AACES was a unidimensional factorial pure instrument even though four other factors had eigenvalues greater than 1.0 For small business managers, attitude is more complex than one dimension. This three-factor solution clearly defined attitude factors which provide empirical evidence supporting the multidimensionality of the attitudes construct. Thus, the underlying structure of the AACES appears to be more factorially complex than the earlier Darkenwald and Hayes (1988) research indicated. However, recent AACES research by Hayes and Darkenwald (1990) has identified three dimensions of attitude toward adult education. The factors identified were similar to those found in this study and, therefore, further support the multidimensionality of the attitudes construct.

Content Validity

Content validity is "established deductively by defining a universe and sampling systematical within the universe" (Lennon, 1968, pp. 175-176). One method of statistically determining content validity is to correlate the total score of an instrument with each individual item on the instrument. The correlation coefficient that results from the aforementioned procedure can take on values from -1.0 to 1.0 with "the greater the absolute value of the coefficient, the stronger the relationship" (Wiersma, 1986, p. 328). Correlation coefficients on the AACES ranged from .44 to 77. A majority of the items had strong correlations of .50 or above. In contrast, correlation coefficients on the DPS-G ranged from .33 to .60. Only slightly over one-half of the items had strong correlations over .50.

An analysis of the strong correlations between the individual items on the AACES and the total instrument score indicated that all items were related to the overall attitude concept. However, an analysis of the low correlations between the individual items on the DPS-G and the total instrument score indicated that most items were weak. The findings suggest that the AACES measures a representative sample of its possible universe and therefore possesses content validity. However, the DPS-G had many weak correlations and therefore suggests that it requires extensive modification.

Discrimination Between Participants and Nonparticipants

Discriminant analysis is used to "statistically distinguish between two or more groups of cases" (Klecka, 1980, p. 28). In this study, discriminant analysis was utilized to determine which variables contributed most to the separation of participants from nonparticipants in adult educational activities. The demographic variables of gender, age, income, educational attainment and number of years in business, along with the AACES and DPS-G, were used to distinguish between these two groups. This analysis determined that a difference did exist on select variables. With the original variables it was found that the most powerful discriminators of participation in adult educational activities were attitudes possessed toward adult education followed by the number of years in business. This indicates that attitudes toward adult education and number of years in business were more important in the discrimination between participants and nonparticipants than perceived barriers and other select demographic variables. In the original analysis, the discriminant function was named Seasoned Attitude.

A second discriminant analysis was conducted in which the factors underlying the AACES and DPS-S were substituted for the overall score on the instruments. The purpose of this analysis was to determine if more specific data on the scales would yield a more meaningful explanation of participation in adult educational activities by small business managers. These exploratory variables along with select demographics were subjected to the same stepwise analysis applied to the original variables. This additional analysis found that five variables appeared to contribute to the discrimination between participants and nonparticipants. These five variables were Formal Learning and Participation in Continuing Education from the AACES, Time and Personal Problems from the DPS-G, and number of years in business. Like the first analysis, the second analysis contained elements of attitude. Two of the three AACES factors were included in the discriminant function; they were Formal Learning and Participation in Continuing Education. Once again, number of years in business was the sole demographic variable found to discriminate in the analysis. However, the solution differed from the original by including two of the four factors from the DPS-G; they were Time and Personal Problems. These findings suggest that the AACES and DPS-G give a clearer picture in the discrimination between participants and nonparticipants when they are broken down further into their underlying factors. Given the variables used in the exploratory analysis, it appears that the number of years in business, the situational barriers of Time and Personal Problems, and attitudes toward participating in formal continuing education all discriminate small business participants from nonparticipants in Nebraska. Furthermore, the exploratory finding indicate that the most powerful discriminators between participants and nonparticipants were attitudes toward formal continuing education and time. Thus, it is concluded that small business managers do differ in relationship to participation. Finally, because the attitude variables carried the highest correlation in the structure matrix, the discriminant function was named Attitude Toward Adult Education.

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A FRAMEWORK FOR UNDERSTANDING DEVELOPMENTAL CHANGE AMONG OLDER ADULTS

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Abstract: Although many theorists treat older adulthood as a single lifestage, results of this qualitative study involving 70 persons over age 60 indicate that there may be five age-independent periods in older adulthood: a) continuity with middle age, b) an early transition, c) a revised lifestyle, d) a later transition, and e) a final period.

INTRODUCTION

Experience helping adults plan for retirement indicates that persons need to prepare for several periods of older adulthood, each with different goals and levels of autonomy. The absence of any systematic way to understand these periods has prompted research whose purpose is to identify and describe changes which occur during the older adult years. These changes may be considered developmental, consistent with Knox's definition of development as the orderly and sequential changes in characteristics and attitudes experienced over time (Knox, 1977). The purpose of this paper is to present a framework to describe the developmental changes, which occur among older adults during the years after age 60 and to discuss characteristics of each of the developmental periods identified. This framework can assist educators to identify the learning needs of older adults on the basis of developmental differences.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Despite broad awareness of the heterogeneity of the older adult population, most references in the literature treat older adulthood as if it were a single life stage. As longevity is prolonged and both the number of years and the proportion of life lived as an older adult increases, the adequacy of developmental frameworks which categorize older adulthood as a single stage may be questioned. Further, the purpose of some models to describe optimal development or successful aging tends to render them prescriptive rather than descriptive.

Erikson's (1950) eighth stage, "Integrity vs. Despair" is most frequently cited in describing older adulthood. In addition to questioning the adequacy of a single stage, one must also consider whether the tension between integrity and despair, given its introspective nature, is sufficient to describe the broader changes which occur during this life period and whether such a global approach may not obscure differences in the way individuals move through the events of older adulthood. Erikson himself admits that his eighth stage may be an inadequate description of old age (Hall, 1983). He believes that when he developed his theory 40 years ago, the general image of old age was different; further, he lacked the capacity to imagine himself as being old. Now Erikson, an octogenarian, suggests that the creative potential and generativity of older adults has been greatly underestimated. He claims this dramatic change does not call for additional stages, but for a longer transition leading to senescence.

Havighurst (1952) also describes older adulthood as a single stage, "later maturity," during which older adults are faced with the following tasks: adjustment to retirement and reduced income, adjustment to the death of a spouse, establishing an affiliation with one's age group, meeting social and civic obligations, and establishing satisfactory physical living arrangements. Similarly, Hultsch and Deutsch (1981, p. 345) argue that to understand changes in older adulthood, one must understand how the elderly cope and adjust to events such as retirement, grandparenting, widowhood, relocation, and adaptation to a new context for living. While each of these tasks may be appropriate for some segment of the older adult population and suggests important occasions for learning, the tasks lack the sequential dimension necessary to describe developmental change.

Levinson (1978) divides older adulthood into two stages, late adulthood, and late, late adulthood. The former is characterized by bodily decline, frequency of death and serious illness among friends, reduction in heavy responsibilities, changed relationships between oneself and society, and living in phase with one's own generation. The latter is marked by infirmity, coming to terms with death, and engaging in an ultimate involvement with oneself. In Levinson's basic format, periods of stability alternate in orderly fashion with periods of transition; in this case, the late adulthood stage seems to emphasize change, and the late, late adulthood stage presents the picture of a final stability.

Peck (1956) amplifies Erikson's eighth stage by dividing it into two periods, each containing a series of stages. within the first period, Middle Age, he proposes four stages: Valuing Wisdom vs. Valuing Physical Powers, Socializing vs. Sexualizing in Human Relationships, Cathectic Flexibility vs. Cathectic Impoverishment, and Mental Flexibility vs. Mental Rigidity. The second period, Old Age, contains three stages: Ego Differentiation vs. Work-Role Preoccupation, Body Transcendence vs. Body Preoccupation, and Ego Transcendence vs. Ego Preoccupation. Indicating that some directions are preferable to others, Peck states that these psychological learnings and adjustments occur during these periods but in different time sequences for different individuals. He concludes that there is greater homogeneity among persons of the same stage than among persons of the same age. Although Peck identifies certain changes which may take place during the older adult years, the similarity between the stages of the two periods and the absence of any sequential pattern among them makes it impossible to base a framework on Peck's stages. Instead, they support the notion that change among older adults may be a random phenomenon.

Many other studies regard older adulthood as a single lifestage and focus on a particular changes which occur during this period. For example, volumes have been written to describe the various physiological changes associated with aging. After physical change, the most frequently cited theory of change which occurs among older adults is disengagement. This theory, developed by Cumming and Henry (1961), describes aging in terms of the disengagement of older adults from their social systems. The Kansas City study whose findings produced the disengagement theory was undertaken at a time when the dominant model of successful aging was the activity theory. This understanding of older adulthood assumed that those who age most successfully are those who remain active in social roles and personal relationships (Havighurst & Albrecht, 1953). Others have examined changes in self-esteem, a measure which describes self-image and reflects the degree to which persons believe they are in control of their circumstances. Perhaps the most popular approach to older adult development is the use of chronological age, such as in the designation of arbitrarily chosen ages for the beginning of older adulthood, or in dividing the population on the basis of age into the "young-old" and the "old-old," despite the claims of most gerontologists that chronological age is an inadequate basis upon which to identify differences among older adults.

Although the literature is replete with approaches which describe change among older adults, the key question persists: can elements of these and other explanations of older adulthood development be used to inform a single comprehensive framework?

METHODOLOGY AND DATA SOURCE

Holistic data were gathered through naturalistic inquiry using a grounded theory approach to examine the experience of older adults and generate a framework describing change during the older adult years. Subjects were interviewed at various sites in order to gather a sample which would be representative of the older adult population. At each of the sites, trained interviewers invited individuals to participate in interviews for the study. All interviews were audiotaped for transcription, coding, and assessment of reliability.

Hour-long structured interviews were conducted with 70 adults over age 60 in 6 private residences, 5 senior and adult learning centers, and 1 nursing home; 70% of these were female. Ages ranged from 61 to 94; the mean age was 78. Most (78%) had been employed in nonprofessional occupations prior to retirement. Their mean level of educational attainment was 12th grade. When describing their health, 25% said it was "not so good," 40% said "somewhat good," and 35% said "very good."

Face to face interviews were conducted with older adults for the purpose of gaining information about the events and transitions of their latter years and for understanding the context in which they viewed those experiences. Questions probed the events of older adulthood, perceptions of older adulthood held during middle age, a comparison of these perceptions with the experience of older adulthood, and positive and negative aspects of their older adult experience. Interviewers encouraged the participants to describe their experience in their own language and within the context of their whole life story. The transcripts were analyzed to identify themes and relationships which contribute to our understanding of the development of the older adults interviewed.

PERIODS OF OLDER ADULTHOOD

The activities and experiences of the older adults interviewed fall into five periods following retirement. Although approximately two-thirds of the persons interviewed had not thought about retirement during their working years, much less planned for it, others described it in terms of freedom ("I can do whatever I want"), relaxation ("It's the life of Reilly"), surprise ("I expected to go on working and then drop dead someday"), and disappointment ("I wanna be something and I'm not gonna get that"). About one sixth of those interviewed described general expectations for their retirement: these included traveling, buying land, learning a hobby, gardening, etc. For some retirement came unexpectedly, either as the result of mandatory retirement policies, or as the result of ill health or disability. Many spoke of older adulthood as the time when one must stay active. Women who had not been employed outside the home for the most part did not cease their work, despite their advanced age, until they were unable to care for themselves: one farm wife said she retired when she entered the nursing home.

First Period: Continuity with Middle Age

Peck's (1956) assertion that middle age is on a continuum that leads to old age is born out in the retirement agendas of persons interviewed. Those who had thought about retirement saw it as a time of continuity with middle age, but without the burden of employment--work as replaced by relaxation, sleeping late, travel, and activities ranging from golf to gardening for which there had not been time during the working years. Although many referred to this time as carefree, at the same time they expressed concerns about the adequacy of their resources; the health of their mates, children, and friends; and the number of years which they had left.

For some, continuity with middle age was not particularly desirable: one woman complained,

> I still have to work hard, I still have to take care of myself. I'm still walking. I always wished for a car and still don't have one. I thought I could go places and do things, but I can't. I cook, paint, clean, sew, do washing. When you don't have anything, and everybody has something, you hope that someday the time will come that it'll be that way for you.

Much to her dismay, the problems with which she had struggled for many years were continued into older adulthood.

These initial older adults continued many of the interests and activities of middle age and provided a time of stability following the retirement transition; they continued for varying lengths of time until interrupted by events which forced a lifestyle change. The plans which most persons had for retirement were limited to this period; therefore it resembled middle age sans work (at least for those who worked outside the home).

Second Period: The Early Transition

The most common events initiating this first transition were the death of a spouse or the need to relocate. One person described the pathos she felt at this transition: "Retirement is sad: Giving up your home and husband and everything." Other elements in this transition included decreased income ("we couldn't afford to go traveling,") increased income ("I sold the farm and now I have money to do things"), perceived changes in relationships ("I think it was a mistake to buy twin beds"), changes in health status, and heightened concern for the well-being of spouses ("How will he get along if I die first?"). In one situation, both the husband and wife got odd jobs to earn spending money for their retirement. In others, retirement goals were seriously examined: a single woman, after watching television for several weeks, decided that there must be more to retirement than that, and deliberately sought out relationships, activities, and volunteer opportunities which she chose as a way to increase the benefit of older adulthood to her. Another complained that after a couple of years, the romance of retirement was gone; he missed the routine of work and would like to find a part time job. Personal losses combined with relocation often prompted discussions of loneliness and the admission that activities were chosen principally for socialization benefits.

These transitional events precipitated an adaptive process not unlike that described by Clark and Anderson (1967) who identified five adaptive tasks necessary in later adulthood and old age: a) recognition of aging and definition of instrumental limitations; b) redefinition of physical and social life space; c) substitution of alternate sources of need satisfaction; d) reassessment of criteria for evaluation of the self; and e) reintegration of values and life goals.

For most older adults, this transition involved an adaptation to events which interrupted an extended middle age, losses such as home, spouse, or income. In other instances, not nearly so numerous, the transition was voluntary: people chose to develop a new lifestyle after experiencing boredom or disappointment with their early retirement years. In either case, persons maintained their autonomy and adjusted their activities in order to achieve revised goals and objectives. This transition seemed to mark the end of middle age and introduce older adulthood in the perceptions of these interviewed.

Third Period: A Revised Lifestyle

The content of the revised lifestyle based on revised goals and activities was highly individualized. Following the death of her husband, one woman said that now she couldn't do all the things she'd like to do. Another, in the same situation, exclaimed, "I'm having the time of my life. I can go as I please, do as I please. I can buy anything I want. It's just marvelous." For the most part, following the first transition, persons still exercised independence and control of their lives, and despite the various levels of trauma associated with the transition, adapted to it. Many engaged in the same kinds of activities as before; others identified new needs - particularly the need for socialization - and pursued new activities. Most activities maintained continuity with the past and at the same time addressed the new goals and activities of this period. For some, the adaptation was very positive: life was surprisingly good - at least, better than anticipated. For others, the adaptation was much less sanguine. For all, a sense of finitude continued to surround relationships, and fears of incapacitation and dependency were voiced.

During this period and the preceding transition, many of the tasks identified by Havighurst (1952) and the adjustments described by Hultsch and Deutsch (1981) were completed. The relative stability of the period concluded with still more dramatic changes. New events interrupted, requiring further adaptation and resulting in a new set of goals and activities.

Fourth Period: The Later Transition

Principal events which precipitated the later transition were the loss of health and mobility. At this time, concern focused on the older adult's well-being and capacity to continue to care for him/herself. This change from independence to dependence resulted in a loss of autonomy. For some, the transition was voluntary: one active widower who lived in his own home alone applied to a retirement community for housing in anticipation of this transition. For most, however, the transition responded to losses which had already occurred. Nursing home residents spoke of disabilities, illnesses, and accidents which made it impossible for them to live independently. For many, with this transition came their introduction into an environment of appropriate programs of care. Older adults were once again involved in adaptation to revised goals and activities similar to the Clark and Anderson (1967) format.

Fifth Period: The Final Period

The period of stability following the later transition again provided the opportunity for the implementation of revised goals and activities. A sense of finitude prevailed and the loss of friends and family through death was particularly painful. Nursing home residents also spoke of the care which allowed them freedom from worry and made it possible for them to continue to function. For most, it was a time of limited mobility requiring increasing levels of care; for one woman who had been crippled and in great pain all of her life, a spinal fusion greatly decreased her pain and allowed more activity than she had enjoyed at any time since she was 42 years old. A male nursing home resident confined to a wheelchair observed that for the first time in his life he got preferential treatment ("Wheelchairs always go first"). Others described it as a time of resignation ("Age is just something you have to accept"). It was during this period and the preceding transition that interviewees spoke most often of finitude ("God says, 'Come home'"). Interaction with other residents substituted for earlier friendships; individual activities, such as reading, together with the activities planned by the nursing home staff, made it possible for older adults to enjoy some measure of fulfillment during this period, which for most had continued over a number of years and would end in a final and ultimate transition. This final period was characterized by disability and dependence, similar to Levinson's (1978) "late, late adulthood" stage.

DISCUSSION

These events portrayed a developmental process in which periods of stability were followed by transitions, similar to the format presented by Levinson (1978). The first period of stability emphasized continuity with middle age, the second period of stability emphasized a lifestyle adjusted to the revised goals of older adulthood, and the third described a period of disability and dependence. Movement from one period to another was punctuated by the events of two transitions. According to the interviewees, the transitional events presented occasions for adapting to change by resetting goals to more or less challenging levels and for pursuing new activities. They also resulted in brief periods of withdrawal (Merriam and Lumsden, 1985) and a temporary loss of self-esteem (Huyck and Hoyer, 1982) immediately following the transitional events.

Deviation from this pattern occurred as the result of two main factors: a) The periods are age-independent. In some instances, persons died before completing all five periods; in others, the death of a spouse or the onset of serious illness within months of retirement precipitated an early transition. Acute illness during the Continuity with Middle Age period often accelerated movement directly to the Later Transition period ("Retirement began when I fell off the ladder."). For others, the Continuity period was extended well into their seventies. b) The development of men and women who worked outside the home seemed to differ from that of persons who did not. Women who had been lifetime homemakers continued to perform the necessary homemaking tasks until they were no longer able to care for themselves.

The data provide little evidence of recycling: with exception of a few persons in the Revised Lifestyle period who remarried and for a time returned to the Continuity with Middle Age period, persons seemed to follow the sequence of the five periods.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study provides a tentative framework for understanding the developmental changes which occur during older adulthood, providing a basis for identifying the educational needs of older adults related to particular periods of development. The framework may assist practitioners to identify those developmental differences present in the older adult population and to target programs more precisely to the educational needs of discrete subpopulations of older adults represented in the five periods. In addition, this framework provides educators with a foundation upon which to build educational programs to assist older adults to optimize change by preparing them to anticipate the transitional events, to cope with developmental change, and to develop revised goals and activities in response to the transitions.

Use of the framework will be facilitated by future research which describes the characteristics of each of the periods in greater detail and which discusses the learning needs of older adults as they are related to each period.

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THE VALUE OF LITERACY FOR THE RURAL ELDERLY: A NATURALISTIC STUDY

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Abstract: The purpose of this study was to develop an understanding of the contextual nature of literacy usage by a group of older adults. An attempt was made to determine what they perceive as their literacy needs and interests, as well as the impact of the presence or absence of literacy skills on their lives.

Introduction

It is generally recognized that the older adults in our society did not have much formal schooling. Although lack of formal schooling does not necessarily result in illiteracy, the fact remains that a large number of older Americans are thought to be functionally illiterate. Few understand the negative impact that illiteracy has had on them during late adulthood. Although there is a perceived need for reading improvement by adult educators and the elderly themselves, participation in literacy programs is low. Programs have been based on what planners assumed older adults want and need.

Most of what is known about literacy and the elderly is concerned with the psychological benefits of reading during retirement. What has been investigated in the past in regard to literacy and the elderly has been done in isolation from their social contexts. The need to determine a value base of literacy from the point of view of the elderly and the need to understand literacy from a social context perspective has been only recently emphasized (Freer, 1990).

Previous Research

Reviews and other related research have all maintained that little is known about literacy and the elderly, and that adult educators have largely ignored this area of study. The recommendations for future research reflect some of the unique problems of older adults.

There remains a need to determine a definition of literacy for the elderly, as well as a measure of adequate functioning. Although research is desperately needed in several areas such as reading abilities, instructional strategies and measurement, other concerns include participation and motivation. Programs have been developed by those who think they know best what the elderly want and need. Materials and curricula used in these programs often are not appropriate. The very environments in which the elderly live may not be supportive of these literacy activities. Furthermore, there is still no clear understanding of the impact or contribution of literacy skills on the life of the older adult (Fisher, 1987).

MacLean and MacLean (1979) have suggested that what is needed is to determine how the elderly perceive reading and how relevant it is to them. Such an understanding should further increase our understanding of the concept of value of reading among the elderly.

Research Questions

Two general research questions guided the initial inquiry of this study:

1. What do low literate elderly persons perceive as their literacy needs and interests?
2. What do these elderly persons perceive as the impact or consequences of the presence or absence of literacy skills in their lives?

Methodology

Ethnographic interview procedures as presented by Spradley (1979) were chosen for this study and are consistent with the qualitative paradigm described by Lincoln and Guba (1985). "Ethnography," according to Spradley, "is the work of describing a culture. The essential core of this activity aims to understand another way of life from the native point of view" (p. 3). I tried to understand the culture of low literate elderly persons from their point of view in this study.

Selection of Informants

Ten retired persons who were at least sixty years old and had less than an elementary school education (self-reported) were recruited for this study by a local literacy coordinator working with me on a regional literacy project for older adults. Six of the informants were currently participating in a literacy program; four were nonparticipants. The informants interviewed for this study ranged in age from 60 to 87. All were noninstitutionalized adults living in their own homes. Rural elderly informants were chosen for this study since they represent an undereducated, underserved segment of the population often considered even more disadvantaged than their urban peers (Heisel, 1980). "Many suffer from triple jeopardy: they are old, poor and isolated" (p. 128).

Data Collection

These interviews were conducted over a period of nine months at informants' homes and local senior centers. Ten case studies were developed since such descriptive data have not been previously available. Triangulation was accomplished through use of Spradley's (1980) procedures of participant observation and document analysis. Participant observation, in this case, observing day-to-day activities of informants, as well as document analysis of field notes and relevant print materials discussed in interviews, were utilized to support the primary means of gathering data. After at least two informal meetings with each informant to establish some rapport and begin informal conversations, the next three interviews were taped, transcribed and coded for emerging themes. All notes from previous conversations and triangulation procedures were kept in field-note journals.

Data Analysis

Grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used to explain the value literacy has to this group of older adults. Theory was discussed as it emerged from the analysis of these interviews along with recommendations for further research and implications for program development. Differences in how literacy is viewed according to gender, age cohort and program participation status are discussed.

Issues of validation and legitimation are addressed (Lincoln & Guba, 1985) through the concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Credibility was achieved when the data sources (informants) found the analysis, formulation, and interpretation to be credible. For example, I asked the people whether I had represented their realities accurately. I engaged in activities in the field that increased the probability of high credibility such as prolonged engagement, persistent observation, and triangulation. I also shared my findings and compared perceptions with my informants and local literacy providers. Transferability was established through the development of a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) and "purposeful sampling" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 40). The transcripts of the ethnographic interviews along with data left by the audit trail (Lincoln & Guba, pp. 319-310) were used to establish dependability and confirmability.

Findings

Emerging Themes

Responses from the interviews are developed along eleven domains (Spradley, 1979) which were identified during the course of the study: early schooling; family; work; retirement; a typical day; church; information needs; shopping and banking; health; learning to read with a literacy volunteer (for those six informants participating in a literacy program); and views on older adult literacy. Based on the data collected and the analysis completed, four assertions are made that are related to the emerging themes discovered in the interviews.

Contributing Factors in Becoming Literate. This study makes the assertion that new reading habits and abilities can be developed in late adulthood. Six informants in this study were attempting to improve their reading habits and abilities. All but one believed that they were capable of doing so. Previous studies have presented conflicting evidence as to the ability of older adults to improve their reading. Allington and Walmsley (1980) presented a bleak picture of the competence of older adults and concluded that reading ability decreases with old age. Heisel (1980) found that previous schooling and grade completion has little effect on the level of learning ability in old age.

The older adults in this study attributed the possession of literacy skills to several influences such as schooling, motivation, learned reading strategies, and environmental/social conditions such as being able to work with a tutor in a one-to-one setting. Nonparticipants were less able to identify contributing factors which would enable them to become literate, possibly because they just had not experienced the literacy tutorials and had not had a chance to clarify their values and beliefs.

Reasons to Acquire Literacy Skills in Late Adulthood. Older adults are motivated to change by a balanced desire to satisfy both coping and expressive needs. They must see the need to read and/or want to improve their reading abilities as did nine out of the ten informants in this study. Fisher (1988) recommends including the notions of instrumental (coping) and expressive perceptions of the function of literacy as a framework in which to understand the use of literacy by the elderly. Unlike findings of Hiemstra (1977-1978) and Heisel (1980) that older adults prefer and actually participate in activities to meet instrumental (coping) needs over expressive needs, this study suggests a more balanced view. Although there were no differences among the informants in terms of gender, age or participation status, it is significant to note that for all informants, their interests and needs were balanced between their coping and expressive needs.

Compensating for Lack of Literacy Skills. Illiterate older adults have learned to compensate for the lack of literacy skills in ways that are not effective during their later years. Unable to read, write or compute always to their own satisfaction or according to the demands made upon them, illiterate adults have learned to compensate for the lack of literacy skills in many effective ways. Kasworm & Medina (1989) point out that the elderly have had a past extensive life history of self-sufficiency and self confidence, and seem to infer that they are able to continue to cope adequately in late adulthood. Heisel (1980) had also concluded that the impact of one's youth may have little impact on the level of learning and information activities in old age. Heisel and Larson (1984) found the black elderly satisfied with meeting their own needs. However, the individuals in this study were not coping as well. They showed no evidence of "mutual exchange relations" as described by Fingeret (1983).

Unlike previous studies, I question the compensating strategies available for the elderly and raise concern for their competence in late adulthood. In the past, these same adults were able to find jobs that did not require reading and writing. This is increasingly difficult to do, even with service-oriented jobs. Depending on a spouse, family member or friend to take care of reading and writing needs also becomes difficult as they die or move away. The older adult becomes increasingly dependent on social service providers. It becomes more and more difficult to depend on memorizing lists, labels, numbers, directions and so on without being able to write things down. Depending on listening with observational skills causes problems when older persons lose their hearing or sight. Although these same methods of compensating for lack of literacy skills worked in the past, older adults find that they cannot rely on these same strategies during late adulthood. There were no differences in regard to compensating for lack of literacy skills in terms of gender and age. The only difference seemed to be that those who were being tutored were able to ask for help in reading essential documents.

Impact. The lack of adequate literacy skills has a negative impact on the lives of older adults. Until the completion of this study, the negative impact of the lack of literacy in the elderly had not been identified or described. This study found that the lack of literacy skills results in embarrassment and low self-esteem, dependence on others, loss of limited resources, personal security risks, social isolation, the inability to meet expressive needs and in limited choices of leisure time activities. There were no differences in terms of gender, age or participation status. Further negative impact resulting from the lack of literacy skills can be inferred from the descriptions of the positive impact that literacy has on older adults' lives as described by these informants. These newly acquired skills addressed previous gaps in their functional abilities and enabled them to increase social interaction, enhance job skills and capabilities, aid in banking and shopping, improve health and security needs, maintain self-reliance and offer alternative leisure time activities.

Discussion

Some of these assertions support existing theories and others, along with the descriptive data and discussions, provide new theories to test since none have existed in the past. Others challenge existing theories of motivations (interests and needs) and the competence of older adult illiterates. The descriptive data also document the existence of a negative impact of illiteracy on the lives of older adults, as well as the positive impact of acquiring new skills.

The existing numbers of illiterate elderly and the unprecedented growth of elderly persons in the near future will have a tremendous impact on society. There is a great need to raise the level of awareness of the literacy needs of the older adults among adult educators. Some believe that literacy efforts should concentrate on children and younger, working adults. Few perceive literacy as a means of solving life's problems for older adults or a means of enriching their lives. The value of lifelong learning has yet to be applied to undereducated older adults.

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PROFESSIONAL WOMEN AS SELF-ASSESSING ADULT LEARNERS

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Abstract: Professional women in higher education use a variety of self-assessment "tools"--for official performance reviews; voluntarily chosen from the literature; and/or of their own creation. The extent of reporting such activities via a mailed survey did not differ significantly by age, job type, or selected other factors.

Systematically focusing on "self" in order to state or clarify goals and values is not a new activity for professional women. Locating oneself in particular conceptual frameworks may first require locating appropriate tools in the literature, but the effort is feasible and, this paper claims, desirable. Outcomes could include sharpened perceptions of complex work settings; delineation of common ground for discussion with self-assessing colleagues; heightened empathy (Massarik and Wechsler, 1984); increased problem-solving capability (Wells and Marwell, 1976); and other support for change.

A rationale for undertaking systematic self-assessment might draw from several models--for example, that of Hannover (1988). She envisions an individual's "life perspective" as a bipolar scale--a frequency distribution of self-evaluations; the endpoints of the scale are the extremes of previous self-evaluations (pp. 37-38). Zalkind and Costello (1984) perceive a tendency in current research "to use oneself as the norm or standard by which one perceives or judges others"; they believe that "knowing oneself makes it easier to see others accurately" (p. 303). Fuhrmann and Grasha (1983) not only stress self-awareness as a guide for directing personal growth and for interpreting the behavior of others; they also provide checklists and exercises for facilitating the self-insight process.

The present study focuses on professional women in higher education and is part of a continuing investigation which began with the researcher's own self-assessment project (Greenland, 1985). The study is an empirical extension of a foundational paper (Greenland, 1990) presented at the International Conference for Women in Higher Education (El Paso, 1990); participants heard a rationale for self-assessment, then participated in a learning-style assessment and discussion. Questions guiding the subsequent followup work were: Which self-assessment tools and processes do women in higher education actually use? Does use vary by age, job type, or other factors?

Method

Subjects

The 62 women listed on the participants roster for the conference named in the previous paragraph were selected as subjects; they represented 46 institutions of higher education and one private agency across 26 states, the District of Columbia, and two Canadian provinces. Twenty-eight had attended the researcher's session on self-assessment.

Measures

A one-page mailed survey instrument asked subjects to describe self-assessment "tools" (questionnaires, other devices and activities) they had used in the past years, processes they had gone through in using the tools, and resulting insights and frustrations. Space was provided under three headings: I, specific, on-the-job assessment tools; II, generally available (i. e., published, voluntarily chosen) self-assessment tools; and III, individualized, "internal" self-assessment. Subjects were asked to identify age range, job category, fields of baccalaureate and graduate study, groups of other people with whom they seek to enhance professional effectiveness, and whether they had attended the researcher's presentation at El Paso.

Data Analysis

Standard content analysis procedures (Krippendorff, 1980) were employed: The responses themselves were used to create subcategories under Categories I and III and to confirm Category II subcategories. A coding scheme was devised and an intercoder reliability statistic (Scott, 1955) calculated. Chi-square was used to compare selected respondent characteristics with contribution of self-assessment information.

Results

Respondents

Of the 62 women surveyed, 38 (61%) responded; 37 supplied information under one or more of the self-assessment headings, for a usable response rate of 60%. Three of the 37 wrote "none" or "N/A" under all three self-assessment categories. Length of responses about self-assessment ranged from two to 426 words. Largest subcategories of personal data are:

Age range: 51% were in their 40s, 27% in their 30s.
Job category: Nearly half (46%) were in administrative/managerial positions; 43% were teachers/trainers.
Baccalaureate fields: Humanities, 25%; nursing/allied health, 22%
Graduate fields: education, 29%; social/behavioral sciences, 23%
Attendance at researcher's El Paso session: 50%

Thirty-five women checked one or more groups in response to "What others do you have in mind as you seek to enhance your professional effectiveness concerning them?" Professional peers was the group selected most often--by 29 (83%); 57% checked students; 23%, staff; 20%, general public; and 20% other.

Category I: Specific, On-the-Job Assessment Tools

Twenty-five of the 37 respondents (67%) provided content-analyzable responses other than "none" or "N/A" in the category of on-the-job assessment devices. Eight respondents (22%) wrote "none" or "N/A."

Content analysis produced four subcategories: *proactive*, *reactive*, *passive*, and *ambiguous*. If a response was judged to have no content in the first subcategory, it was examined for content in the second, and so on; intercoder reliability = .88.

The *proactive* self-assessor (n=18) is an active participant in/contributor to an official review procedure. She has some control over the kind and/or format of information provided for review, and may co-evaluate with her reviewer; for example, "End of the year self-evaluation -- I write a narrative rather than use the check-list form available. Doing it is compulsory but I chose my own method."

The *reactive* self-assessor (n=4) complies when a review form or other standard tool is distributed. Her survey response likely has a "one among many" connotation rather than a sense of individualization; for example, "A general performance and office evaluation was completed with my budget request. Also a NCA self-study evaluation was completed."

The *passive* self-assessor (n=2) describes only assessment by others, such as students or peers, as her "self"-assessment; for example, "Additional comments [were] requested on student evaluation forms."

One response was judged to be too *ambiguous* to categorize: "as part of Management Development Program at Harvard University."

Twenty-seven respondents responded to "Were/are these self-assessment activities [in CategoryI] voluntary or compulsory?" Nearly half (n=13) said *compulsory*; 10 (37%), *voluntary*. Four persons (15%) indicated that their procedures had both compulsory and voluntary components.

Category II: Generally Available Self-Assessment Tools

Twenty-six of the 37 respondents (70%) provided content-analyzable responses other than "none" or "N/A" in the category of voluntarily chosen, published (or otherwise generally available) self-assessment tools. Eight respondents (22%) wrote "none" or "N/A."

Elements in the 26 responses were sorted into one or more of the seven types suggested in the survey question; intercoder reliability = .88.

Personality measures: 14 responses (all but one named a specific tool, the Myers-Briggs Type indicator)
Learning style measures: 9 responses (4 specific tools named)
Conflict management tools: 8 responses (4 specific tools named)
Leadership style tools: 6 responses (no specific tools named)
Managerial style tools: 4 responses (2 specific tools named)
Self-esteem measures: 0
Other: 16 responses not clearly classifiable into the six types above; frequencies were too small to warrant additional subcategories.

Category III: Individualized, "Internal" Self-Assessment

Thirty of the 37 respondents (81%) provided content-analyzable responses other than "none" or "N/A" in the category of private processes of self-assessment. Four respondents (11%) wrote "none" or "N/A."

Elements of the survey question served as content subcategories A, C, and D, below; content analysis produced B and additional branching under A and B; intercoder reliability = .82.

A. What initiates the process? Seventeen responses had content in one or more of the following subcategories:

1. The process is continuous, part of an ongoing pattern of self-discipline (n=10); for example, "Journal with weekly and annual review at New Years and birthday. I set annual goals, then review the year in terms of those goals. I have done this for years."
2. A trigger event is the stimulus (n=9); for example, "What initiates the self-reflection process is usually an incident or situation in which I was dissatisfied with my own behavior. . . ."
3. Private self-assessment is a by-product of a required review (n=4); for example, "Basically, my activities here [in Category III] are related to the annual eval. I must do for my job. . . ."

B. Is this self-assessment primarily a solo or with others activity? Twenty-four responses were judged to have content in this area; if a response contained elements of both, it was categorized according to the greater emphasis.

1. Twenty responses were judged to have primary content in the solo subcategory; for example, "I talk to myself in my head, evaluating/analyzing critical interactions and meetings. I have identified aspects of my behavior, style, etc., which I am consciously working on. . . ."
2. Four responses primarily reflected communication with trusted others; for example, "I talk to other academics of my general background [about] what they are currently involved with--evaluate peer achievements with my own. I then make adjustments based on my capabilities. . . ."

C. Do you have a set of internal criteria [for self-assessment]? Seventeen responses were judged to have content suggesting such criteria; for example, "Professional introspection of formative nature. Review goals of program, management style, student and staff relationships and critique my effectiveness based upon my expectations. . . ."

D. Do you keep a journal or notes? Fourteen responses were judged to contain mention of journaling or note-taking as part of private self-assessment; for example, "Keep notes as to what I have done and what I need to accomplish in order to grow professionally and personally. . . ."

Statistical Analyses

Several aggregating characteristics of respondents divided the group into pairs of nearly equal subgroups. Chi-square analyses were used to investigate the effect of three of these characteristics (age group, job category, attendance at El Paso session) on whether respondents had contributed content-analyzable information to the three categories of self-assessment tools. As shown in Table 1, no relationships were found at the .05 level of significance. One trend was noted: The women who had participated in the El Paso session on self-assessment may have been more likely to report individualized, personal self-assessment tools/processes in their survey responses.

Table 1.
Relationship of age, job category, and previous participation to presence/absence of self-assessment information

	I: On-the-job tools/procedures	II: Published tools/procedures	III: Personalized tools/procedures	I or II or III
Age group	$X^2 = .67$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = .95$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = 1.39$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = 1.00$ df = 1 $p > .05$
Job Category	$X^2 = 1.14$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = 1.64$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = .31$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = .00$ df = 1 $p > .05$
Participation in previous session	$X^2 = .75$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = 1.89$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = 2.50$ df = 1 $p > .05$	$X^2 = .51$ df = 1 $p > .05$

Note. Age groups: 40-49 (n=19); all others (n=18)
Job groups: administrators/managers (n=17); teachers/trainers (n=16)
Participation: yes (n=18); no (n=16)

Discussion

Self-assessment activities are purposefully undertaken by many professional women in higher education settings. "Tools" range from open-ended, inner-directed questions ("What have I done today to make [the institution] a better place?") to highly structured checklists--self-made, other-made, self- and other-made--of desired goals and behaviors. One respondent wrote, "There is no one standard set of tools;

it changes over time as I borrow from different techniques." Such eclecticism and self-directedness offer a rich challenge to researchers attempting to trace themes and trends in self-assessment practices and outcomes.

Confirmation and elaboration of several aspects of this study should be the focus of subsequent research: (1) The apparent high incidence of proactivity among professional women in selecting and presenting self-information as a mirror and for review by others; (2) A comparatively more passive (or serendipitous) kind of encounter--at conferences, in coursework--with published, voluntarily chosen tools; (3) The role of other people--peers, supervisors, mentors, spouses, friends, and students--in one's "self"-assessment tasks. (Is there a clear line of demarcation between assessment by self and by others?); (4) The absence--not surprising in a mailed survey--of evidence of insights, frustrations, or specific changes in practice as results of self-assessment endeavors. More detailed categorization of the commentary gathered in this study, especially in Category III, should be the next step, followed by interviews with a sample of respondents.

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DEMOCRATIZING KNOWLEDGE: A MODEL FOR COLLABORATIVE INQUIRY

By: Group for Collaborative Inquiry

Abstract: The paper describes a process of collaborative construction of knowledge with an emphasis on the value of the researcher's experience. Specifically, the paper chronicles the experience of six women who are writing a book together and focuses on this group's strategies for democratizing knowledgemaking through collaboration and holistic inquiry.

I. PURPOSE

The second morning of our first group meeting we were sitting outside the Waldorf School at a picnic table overlooking the nearby Austin countryside. Molly announced that before we began our work she wanted to apologize for her minimal participation of the previous day. She explained to us that she had been unable to relate in a personal way to the content matter and process of our discussion. As she described her feelings she began to cry. "I'm sorry," she said as she struggled to stop the tears. We all reassured her, "It's OK. You don't need to apologize." "But I do," Molly explained. Our quizzical expressions showed her we didn't understand. Molly went on, "Crying is so unprofessional."

Molly's statement that crying is unprofessional triggered memories in others of us. We sat at the picnic table telling our own stories of crying in the context of our professional lives. Later when we analyzed what had happened at the picnic table and the implications and underlying assumptions of our stories, we discovered a dramatic insight into our process of collaborative construction of knowledge. For us this insight was: Throughout our collaborative research process to that point we experienced a tension between our academic voice which represents analytic knowing based in theoretical experience and our personal/cultural voice which represents holistic knowing from our concrete lived experiences. In acknowledging this tension we discovered that, for us, true collaboration is a democratizing of knowledge-making in that collaboration facilitates ownership of knowing from concrete life experience.

Thus, we became committed to an owning of our own voices and our own process of knowing and to giving value to that knowledge in the public arena. Vitally connected to the owning of our own voices is a deep commitment to making public in the academic arena other unheard voices--voices that are often oppressed and often non-analytic and non-theoretical. This paper describes our research journey and uses as departure points the group's focus, strategy, assumptions, and commitments that we held within our knowledge-making process.

II. HISTORY OF THE GROUP FOR COLLABORATIVE INQUIRY

A brief history of the group is important to understand the richness and complexity of the process. The six members--five recent graduates of a doctoral program and their mutual dissertation sponsor--came together with a purpose of writing a book which would draw upon their five sets of dissertation data. As the group was forming and committing itself to the book project, individual relationships were forming. These relationships involved informally sharing both personal experiences and theoretical frameworks, as well as our own practical applications of research methodologies.

In a conference call to prepare for the initial meeting of the group,--which would last four days--we began by exploring and reaffirming each member's commitment to work in a collaborative way. This commitment was symbolized by our agreement at this time to publish under a group name; however, at this point we had no idea what that name might be. In the initial conference call the first meeting was planned to convene at a member's home, in Austin, Texas where the other five members would travel from New York, Pennsylvania, Connecticut, Ohio, and Iowa. Subsequent meetings took place in Brooklyn Heights, New York at another member's home.

III. DESCRIPTION OF THE GROUP'S PROCESS OF MEANING-MAKING

The group came together with a focus and a defined task of writing a book about the relationship between individual learning and social action or organizational change. Our intention was to base the book on five sets of dissertation data which included the following studies: Critical reflection and change in a corporation (Brooks, 1989); Transformative learning among faculty in a nontraditional university for minority adult students (Daniels, 1990); Music and emancipatory learning in three community education programs (Kaltoft, 1990); Transformative learning and knowing in women change agents (Loughlin, 1990); and Emancipatory learning for social change in a volunteer setting (Preciphs, 1989). While each of the studies focused on this major theme, the relationship between individual learning and social change was approached from different perspectives in each study.

At the onset we were committed to what some of us were calling a feminist process and others were calling a collaborative process. All of us had experience with qualitative research and a commitment to an interpretive paradigm, as we understood it. We also began with several assumptions. First, we assumed that we each had an understanding of what collaboration meant. Second, we assumed that all of the knowledge we needed in order to write the book was present in the already collected dissertation data. Third, we assumed that we would be able to accomplish the writing of the book within a relatively limited time-table: we expected during our first meeting to complete as a group a mega-analysis of the five data sets. And fourth, as opposed to the other assumptions that we did name, there was an implicit assumption in our commitment to the interpretive paradigm that monitoring the influence of the researcher's personal/cultural experience within the research project is important in maintaining the integrity of the research. There were countless other unarticulated and unidentified assumptions about what the group process might mean to us individually and collectively. While these were our initial assumptions, our commitment to the collaborative process led us to reflect on the validity of our assumptions.

At our initial meeting we were presented with a two-fold problem--how to unite the five data sets and how to accommodate the various perspectives, thinking styles, and ways of working by individuals within the group. Our first attempt was to identify common themes. We immediately discovered that we could not agree on language and that this systematic attempt to create a complete picture of the whole by inspecting its parts excluded not only the richness of each piece of research but the interpretive self of each researcher. We had come face to face with the two most distinct qualities of qualitative research--the richness of the data and the individual researcher as the main instrument.

By forming a collaborative group we had intervened in the sacred relationship between each researcher and her research and we had attempted to strip the richness of each unique story and to strive for generalities. The quest for generalities and the removal of the researcher from the role of researcher-as-instrument moved us smack into a positivist paradigm.

IV. INTERPRETATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE GROUP'S EXPERIENCE

As we have reflected together about the meaning of our story we have found it useful to use the metaphor of two voices--the academic and the personal/cultural. Characteristics of these voices are listed in Figure 1. Our story portrays the way we moved from an analytic to a holistic way of knowing through the integration of our experience known through both intuition and reason. For example, the incident at the picnic table illustrated that attention to affect forced us to recognize that we were in fact out of alignment with the paradigm in which our original research had been conducted. This lived experience of our group jolted us into the expressive mode of reflection--storytelling--as discussed by Reason and Hawkins (1988), p. 79) and diverted us away temporarily from our quest for explanation or analysis.

Our challenge became to discover how we as a group could become the instrument of research and how we could retain the richness of each original piece of research. It became clear that we could not work in a solely analytic mode and that we must retain the openness to reframing our research question and struggling with the ambiguity of searching for better ways of working with our data.

We expanded our data base to include not only our existing sets of data but our personal and group stories. This has allowed us to begin to build a collaborative research self. This mode of operation concretizes Peter Senge's (1990) conceptualization of knowledge guided by a common group vision in which each individual holds the whole vision but has particular clarity in certain parts. He represents this by the image of a hologram.

The following Figure 1 is a comparison of the ways our research process was guided by the academic and personal/cultural voice:

	Academic	Personal/Cultural
Way of Knowing	Analytic	Holistic
Strategy	Mega-analysis guided by logic & analytic rational thought	Mega-analysis guided by an integration of experience, intuition, and reason
Boundaries	5 Dissertation Data Sets	5 Data Sets reflected on in the context of the researchers; lived-experience as individuals and within the group

Figure 1. Characteristics of Academic and Personal/Cultural Voice as Modes of Making Knowledge

Each of us in varying ways is uncomfortable when knowledge represented in the academic arena is detached from personal-cultural experience. Thus when we attempted to put our data into neatly contained analytical categories, we found ourselves distanced from the humanity teeming within the richness of our research data. The challenge for us was to connect with the humanity of the persons within the studies, to bring their voices into the academic arena in a way that their lived experience could "speak" beyond theoretical categories so that they in reflecting on their life experience would be constructing new knowledge in the academic arena.

Our journey in discovering how to do this led us to realize that the interconnectedness between the lived experiences of the researchers and the people in the studies is the starting point of humanizing the research. In joining our reflections on our own lived experiences with those of the persons within the data and sharing their knowledge in the academic arena, we began to understand how public knowledge has traditionally excluded many people's personal/cultural experiences. Therefore we began to see our research process as a model for democratizing knowledge.

It is our hope that the process of knowledge construction that we have described here will be used by many of those persons who practice in and are served by the field of adult education but who are typically under-represented in the ranks of those who traditionally make and publish knowledge.

V. EMERGENT ISSUES

Throughout the GFCI process numerous issues emerged which are related to the researcher's experience as a key element of the research process. Many of these issues are reflective of those discussed in the group dynamic literature (Lippitt and Seashore, 1980); others are focused upon in literature related to cooperative inquiry (Reason and Rown, 1981; Reason, 1988). All of these issues seem to be embued with questions of trust and power.

The following list is not exhaustive but rather it represents those issues that we have decided we must resolve in order to continue our collaborative commitment. These include addressing:

1. Ownership or authorship.
2. Speaking on behalf of the group or representing the group in the public arena.
3. Unrecognized personal assumptions that impede communication.
4. Choices about whose language is to be used to express a concept.
5. Difficulty in articulating individual meaning due to different thinking styles and learning styles.
6. Lack of unity in understanding the group task.
7. Accommodating personal agendas within the group.
8. The constraints of time, money, and resources.
9. The influence of personal life events on the group's process and work.
10. Commitment to the group and to our vision.

VI. RESOURCES

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The *Group For Collaborative Inquiry* is composed of six members and is enriched by our individual lives and accomplishments of which brief vignettes follow:

Ann Kristen Brooks - Assistant Professor at the University of Texas at Austin in the Department of Adult and Human Resource Development Leadership. Particular professional interests include qualitative research, personal learning and organizational change, and intercultural education.

Molly Eleanor Daniels - Former Administrator for Program and Faculty Development at Antioch University in Philadelphia. Special professional interests include adult development, counseling, and the relationship between learning and the arts.

Gwendolyn Kaltoft - Rehabilitation Specialist and Vocational Evaluator with Career Design, Inc., Des Moines, IA. Other professional interests include emancipatory adult learning and the relationship between culture, the arts, and learning.

Elizabeth Kasl - Adjunct Assistant Professor of Adult and Continuing Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. Particular professional interests include adult learning and development.

Kathleen Loughlin - Associate Professor of English at St. Joseph's College, Brooklyn, New York, and Adjunct Assistant Professor of Adult and Continuing Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. Special professional interests include social action and feminist education for empowerment.

Trudie Kibbe Preciphs - Associate General Secretary for the General Council on Ministries in The United Methodist Church, and Adjunct Professor at United Theological Seminary, Dayton, OH. Particular professional interests include social action and volunteerism.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN TO NONFORMAL EDUCATION DURING THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT
1955-1965

LaVerne Gyant
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__Abstract__: This study investigated the relationship between the roles African American women played in the Civil Rights Movement and their participation in and contributions to nonformal education during the Civil Rights Movement. The findings indicated that (1) the contributions made by women to nonformal education during the Movement are still being used today, and (2) adult education has an important role in social movements, social actions, and in the African American community.

It was during the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) that many African American women discovered their untapped reservoir of courage, strength, and faith. African American women "have failed to conform to the mythical feminine stereotype" (Gilkes, 1980, p. 217). Rather, they have continued to be in the forefront in the struggle for freedom. Like Fannie Lou Hamer, many were ready to forfeit their livelihoods to make a better life for their families, community, and society.

This study was conducted to investigate the contributions made by African American women in the fight for civil rights, equal opportunities, and equal education. The study also investigated the relationship between the roles African American women played in the CRM and their participation in and contributions to nonformal education. The various nonformal educational programs and curricula were also examined.

The research involved contacting various civil rights and social organizations and asking them to identify women who were recognized as leaders during the CRM. Approximately 68 women were identified by this organization. Twenty-five participants agreed to participate; however, only 12 women were interviewed. To analyze the data, tapes were transcribed and responses were matched with the interview questions and categorized. The responses were integrated with data from primary and secondary sources. Based upon the integrated data, several themes emerged: women as leaders, influences and motivation, personal transformation, contributions to nonformal education, and role modeling.

When one looks at the history of the CRM, there are several names which constantly appear--Rosa Parks, Fannie Lou Hamer, Dorothy Cotton. One would tend to believe that these were the only women involved in the Movement. Based on the interviews and research, there were a large number of women--locally and nationally recognized--who in their own right "took the lead in the struggle for dignity" (Jones, 1985, p. 280). The African American women who were leaders in the Movement were not looking for fame and fortune or national recognition. Rather, they were "dedicated to community service and not self-service." They were willing to forfeit their livelihood in order to fight against racial oppression and discrimination.

In their roles as leaders, they were more concerned with helping the community think through their problems, shaping their goals, and encouraging them to become self-empowered. African American women did what they had to do to make things better in their community. With this in mind, one can understand why Black women did not see themselves as leaders.

Several factors influenced women's decisions to participate in the CRM. First, and most important, was the family. A majority of the women agreed that their involvement in the CRM was something "that was ingrained in you" from childhood and the strength their parents and grandparents demonstrated in overcoming the battles of oppression, racism, and poverty.

Second, involvement in the church and membership in organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) motivated them to participate in the CRM. It was their "spirituality and belief in the doctrines of fundamental Christianity" (Crawford, 1987, p. 105) which gave them the strength, will power, and courage to challenge and test the principles of Christianity and non-violence. Also, membership in organizations such as the NAACP, the National Council of Negro Women, or one of the Black sororities allowed women to develop their leadership roles, nurture their images as caretakers, and come together and influence the movement (Crawford, 1987; Dumas, 1980; Fitzgerald, 1985).

Finally, tragedies and injustices, frustration with status quo, and "the wrongness of our own people" motivated other women to become involved. In other words, women were frustrated with segregation, lack of quality education for their children, poor housing and medical assistance, and discrimination in employment.

Participation in the CRM in turn influenced women's personal development in several ways. By attending mass meetings and classes either at the Citizenship Schools, Citizenship Education Program (CEP), or Freedom Schools, some women were able to broaden their knowledge and concepts, and were able to make a connection between what was going on statewide and nationally. Thus, they were able to encourage members of the community to come together and participate in the struggle for their rights to be first-class citizens.

Women like Fannie Lou Hamer, Annie Devine, Victoria Gray, Bertha Mae Carter, and Bernice Robinson developed their leadership potential. These women did not see themselves as inferior; therefore, they could stand their ground with "the best of them." Likewise, they believed "we have the right to help control our own lives." For example, due to her participation in the CRM, one of the participants, who had less than a sixth grade education and whose family had worked on a plantation until 1965, developed her leadership skills when she was the cofounder and president of her community's Improvement Association. She was, and still is, a strong advocate for education who encouraged African Americans in her community, as she does today, to vote and become active in the political and economic arenas.

Participation in the Citizenship School, CEP, or Freedom Schools influenced both students and teachers. For many students, just learning how to read and write so they could register to vote helped them to be better citizens while inspiring "others to learn to read and write in order to register" (Clark, 1962, p. 68). Students also became aware of the power they had to change their present situations and how to effectively use this power. On the other hand, teachers were influenced by the students. Teachers became politically astute from teaching or from discussions with other participants in the Movement, while others changed their career plans, and still others became aware of their own personal freedom (McAdams, 1988). Thus, it can be said that the Citizenship Schools, CEP, and Freedom Schools educated and empowered both teachers and students.

African American women who participated in the Movement "transmitted a rich spiritual tradition, along with a social consciousness and concern for human dignity and freedom" (Crawford, 1987, p. 161). Some of the respondents spoke of the courage and strength that enabled women like Hamer, Grey, Devine, Blackwell, Charity, and Mrs. B. "to hold fast in the face of overwhelming opposition" (Jones, 1985, p. 286). For it was these women who worked long hours, and still found time and energy to cook for the volunteers, organize voter registration drives, attend mass meetings and classes, and march in demonstrations. It was these women, whether rural or middle class, who worked together and formed a supportive network for each other and who had an influence on almost every aspect of the CRM.

For African Americans, the struggle for education has existed since enslavement, when they took it upon themselves to learn how to read and write. Because formal education was denied to them, nonformal education was the only means for slaves to educate themselves. Enslaved Africans either learned to read on their own, or were taught by the children, the mistress, or by some religious group. Materials used included the Bible, books stolen from the "big house," and newspapers. The methods were unorthodox, but it did not stop them from learning to read and write. These are the same methods, with some changes, employed by the Citizenship Schools, CEP, and Freedom Schools during the CRM.

Septima Clark and Bernice Robinson are only a few of the women who took these methods, revamped them, and used them to teach hundreds of African Americans who were illiterate, who wanted to vote, and who wanted a better life. With the help of Miles Horton, Clark and Robinson developed instructional methods and materials which met the immediate needs of the local people--learning to read and write, filling out various forms, and interpreting state constitutions so they could vote.

Due to the lack of funding and modern technology, everyday items were used to teach the students. Large pieces of cardboard were used to write students' names on so they could trace first with their fingers and later with a pencil. Writing was taught because "adults have to sign their names to everything." Newspaper articles and copies of state constitutions were used to teach them how to read and introduced them to new vocabulary words. From this exercise, students were encouraged to raise questions and discuss national and local issues as they related to what was happening to them. Forms for money orders were copied by hand. A respondent remembers staying up all night to copy money order forms on onionskin paper so students could have something to practice on. Original copies of catalog mail order forms and, in some cases, voter registration forms were provided for students to complete. Newspaper, magazines, and catalogue advertisements were used for math problems.

Clark and Robinson developed My Reading Booklet for Citizenship Schools in South Carolina. This booklet was later used by CEP and Freedom Schools and modified to fit the particular needs for various southern states. My Reading Booklet was approximately 20 pages, and included the history and philosophy of the sponsoring organization, information on voting laws, a guide for good writing, sample forms, spelling words, arithmetic problems, and historical and cultural facts about African Americans.

Nonformal education in the CRM clearly included more than learning to read and write. It included learning to sew and crochet, make leather crafts, plan programs, publish a local newspaper, and take an active role in the voter registration drives and demonstrations.

African American history and culture were included in all educational programs. The inclusion of African American history and culture helped adults and children alike to know they had a history, to know they belonged to a race of strong, determined people, and to realize they were somebody and deserved more than they were receiving. Learning about themselves gave adults and children a strong sense of worth, self-esteem, self-confidence, and self-determination.

According to Lindeman (1961), adult education is the most reliable instrument for social actions and social movements. This has been true in the African American community. Throughout history, African Americans have relied on adult education, especially non-formal education, in all their movements--abolition, Civil War, Reconstruction, Harlem Renaissance, and the CRM. During the CRM, nonformal education programs--Highlander Folk School, Citizenship Schools, CEP, and Freedom Schools--were good examples of how adult education tends to foster creativity, stability, empowerment, social consciousness, individuality, and a unified community.

By understanding how participants conceptualized education, one can understand why nonformal education tended to be more effective than formal education in social movements. This is not to say that formal education is not important. Rather, educational programs during the CRM combined both formal and nonformal educational techniques. For example, teachers were provided with lesson plans to follow and had to keep records, but at the same time they were encouraged to use their imagination to develop creative techniques so they, along with the students, could explore new ideas, skills and knowledge. Also, teachers were encouraged to alter their lesson plan to meet the needs of the students at any given time. These ideas tend to make education more situational/problem centered than subject centered.

Education does not always take place in the school or some formal setting. As the CRM demonstrated, education can occur in any setting--home, beauty/barber shop, church, front or back lawn, or in a store. Educators during the CRM felt it was important to bring the programs where the people were rather than to have them travel a distance or sit in the classrooms designed for their children or grandchildren. By bringing the programs to the students and making them feel comfortable in the environment, students were able to gain a sense of pride, worthiness, self-confidence, and self-esteem.

Likewise, it was important to include the students' experiences and needs in developing the curriculum (Lindeman, 1961). It was pointed out by Clark, Horton, and Robinson that students were more interested in learning things that would help them to improve their everyday lives. The basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic helped them to read and write letters from/to family members, read and understand their insurance policies, to figure out how much they owed for certain items or how much was owed to them. Most importantly, they gained the skills needed to become registered voters. These basic skills also helped students to see how their problems were related to what was happening in the world around them.

The African proverb, "each one, teach one," was very relevant during the CRM. This proverb means that once a person has learned something, they should teach it to a neighbor or relative. A majority of the teachers with the various educational programs were from the community and a majority of them had previously been students in these same programs. These students/teachers knew what the students wanted to learn, knew their culture and language, and how to encourage them to participate and change their present situation. Even the volunteer teachers, who came from the North or who were from a middle class background, realized how important it was for them to respect the culture of their students.

The concepts and educational practices used in the various educational programs were simplistic, yet provided the African American community with the opportunity to grow and become empowered. These practices are not unfamiliar to the adult education profession, but they are too rarely used, particularly in communities of people of color--African American, Spanish speaking, Asian American, or Native American.

The CRM has been recognized as one of the most successful reform and revolutionary movements in this country. This study indicated that education was also a major component of the CRM. It occurred during the mass meetings, through songs and group discussions. By looking at the educational aspects of the CRM, another dimension is brought into the history of the Movement and adult education.

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GENDER-RELATED DIFFERENCES IN ADULT CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR: PERCEPTIONS OF STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

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Abstract: This study examines adult students' and instructors' perceptions of differences between men and women in classroom verbal participation. The goal of the research was to determine if classroom variables and respondent gender could be used to predict perceptions of differences. Multiple regression analysis was used to analyze data obtained from 200 adult students. Proportion of female students in the class was found to be the only meaningful predictor of perceptions. Separate correlational analyses of data obtained from 30 instructors indicated that proportion of female students was the only variable with a significant relationship to instructors' perceptions of differences.

Introduction

Differences in women's and men's learning preferences and behavior is a topic of growing interest in adult education, stimulated by work such as Belenky et al.'s (1986) research on women's intellectual development. Potential differences between women and men that merit particular attention are variations in student classroom participation. Differences in classroom participation are significant for a number of reasons. First, students' participation can reflect learning style preferences that may or may not be supported by traditional classroom practices. For example, Tarule (1988) suggests that adult women may have a preference for "connected" learning strategies, such as sharing personal experiences and collaborative discussion. These strategies may not be encouraged in typical classroom situations, thus potentially reducing the quality of women's involvement and learning. Second differences in students' behavior can affect the nature of instructional interactions between teacher and student, as well as interactions between students. Research with children and young adults suggests that teachers interact more with male than female students; this difference in interaction seems to be related to male students' tendency to initiate more contacts with the teacher, rather than to biased teacher responses. To ensure equitable interactions, an understanding of learner behavior is essential. Finally, learners' perceptions of other students' behavior can affect their evaluation of their own learning abilities and their self-confidence.

While considerable research on gender-related differences in classroom behavior has been conducted with elementary and secondary school students, and some research with traditional age college students, little comparable work has been done with adult students. We know little about potential differences in the classroom behavior of adult men and women learners. This paper describes a study that sought to address this lack of information by investigating adult students' and instructors' perceptions of women's and men's classroom participation and the factors that are related to these perceptions. Teacher and student perceptions of gender differences have not been the focus of previous investigations;

however, perceptions may be as important as actual behavior in their impact on the learning situation (Staley & Cohen, 1988).

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Research that addresses gender-related differences in classroom behavior and interaction, as noted above, has focused primarily on elementary and secondary school settings. The existing studies generally indicate that male and female classroom behavior does differ, though these differences are affected by various aspects of the classroom situation. On the whole, male students tend to be more active and assertive, while female students tend to be more passive and responsive. However, teacher and class variables can have an impact on the extent of such differences. The gender of the teacher is one variable that appears to have some impact on behavior patterns. Studies are rather inconclusive regarding the nature of this impact. For example, Karp and Yoels (1976) found that in male-taught classes, men accounted for 75.4% of the interactions, three times that of women. In female-taught classes, the proportion was more equitable though still men were participated more, accounting for 58% of the interactions. In contrast, other research (Boersma, Gay, Jones, Morrison & Resnick, 1981) indicated a cross-sex effect: males participated more in female-taught classes and vice versa. Some differences may be due to teaching styles; women teachers tend to be more student-centered and use more participatory styles than men (Brophy, 1985).

In addition to teacher gender and related teaching styles, another classroom variable with potential impact on student behavior is course subject matter. In particular, investigations have compared gender-related differences in math/science and non-math/science classes. Again, findings remain inconclusive. Research reviewed by Brophy (1985), for example, indicates that male students have higher participation rates in math/science secondary school classes than female students; however, these findings are potentially confounded by the fact that the majority of teachers in these classes were male. In Boersma et al.'s (1981) research, subject matter did not emerge as significant when teacher gender was controlled.

In all of these studies, perceptions of behavior have received surprisingly little attention. While perceptions are not a completely accurate reflection of actual behavior, they do represent the observers' interpretation of the situation, and thus have a potential effect on classroom dynamics. Interestingly, perceptions of behavior seem to be influenced by the observer's gender. For example, Beer and Darkenwald (1989) found that adult female and male students differed in their perceptions of the classroom environment: women perceived higher levels of student involvement and affiliation.

An earlier paper (Hayes, 1990) described preliminary data regarding adult students' and instructors' perceptions of gender differences in adult student classroom behavior and characteristics. For the sample as a whole, mean perceived gender differences were statistically significant though small; however, of interest were the variations in respondent perceptions. Men and women student respondents differed somewhat in their perceptions; differences in the perceptions of these two groups were also statistically significant but small. The purpose of the present study was to determine the extent to which classroom variables in addition to gender of respondent might predict variations in perceived differences in male and female students' verbal participation. As suggested by the research literature described above, verbal participation represented one particularly important dimension of the range of characteristics assessed in the previous study; further, it appears to be one that might be affected by elements of the classroom situation. Classroom variables were selected for investigation based on their significance in previous studies, and included subject of course, gender of instructor, and proportion of women and men in the class.

METHODOLOGY

Instrumentation. The development of the questionnaire used in this study is described in detail in Hayes (1990). Respondents were asked to indicate their perceptions of men and women students in the course in which they completed the questionnaire. Perceptions were obtained on a six-point Likert scale for 39 items representing relevant classroom behaviors and personal characteristics. A sample item is reproduced below:

In this class, how often do: ________________ ask questions?	Never ....Often						Never Noticed
Male students	1	2	3	4	5	6	N
Female students	1	2	3	4	5	6	N

Additional questions were included on the teacher version of the instrument about subject matter and gender composition of the class.

Alpha reliability of the overall scale was .93. Exploratory factor analysis was used to reduce the items into more parsimonious broad dimensions of classroom behavior. The final orthogonal factor solution consisted of seven factors: Verbal Participation, Learning Orientation, Dominating Others, Support-Seeking, Self-Disclosure, Self-Assurance, and Sociability. Since the focus of the present research was differences in classroom participation, as noted above, scores on the factor scale Verbal Participation were utilized as the dependent variable in this analysis. Items comprising the scale and their factor loadings are presented in Table 1. Alpha reliability of the factor scale was .87.

Table 1
Verbal Participation Subscale Items

Item	Factor Loading
Participate actively in discussions	.74
Answer questions posed by the instructor	.70
Ask questions	.70
Initiate discussions	.66
Dominate discussions	.64
Express opinions	.59
Share personal experience	.50
Give positive feedback to the teacher	.49

Sampling and Data Collection. Adult students and instructors in undergraduate courses were the target population for the study. Purposive sampling procedures were used to obtain respondents from a variety of classes in four institutions: two public community colleges, one rural and one suburban; a large public university in an urban setting; and a small private liberal arts college in a suburban location. A central criterion in selecting the sample was identifying respondents in courses composed primarily of adult students, defined as individuals age 25 and over. The questionnaire was completed by the instructor and all students in each class; students who did not meet the study's definition of adult students were eliminated from the sample for the present study.

A total of 200 students and 30 instructors became the sample for this analysis. Women comprised 56.8% of the student sample and 53.3% of the instructors. Students' ages ranged from 25 to 75, with a mean of 34.7 years.

Data analysis. Perceived male/female difference scores for each questionnaire item were calculated by subtracting ratings of women from ratings of men. Difference scores had a possible range of -5 to +5, with a score of 0 indicating no perceived difference, negative scores indicating that women were rated more highly on the item and positive scores indicating higher ratings of men on the item. Factor scores were calculated by summing the difference scores for each item on the factor scale.

Students and instructors were analyzed as separate groups, based on the assumption that their differing roles in the classroom would affect not only their perceptions of student behavior, but also the relationship of other variables to those perceptions. Correlational analyses were used to determine overall relationships among the factor scores, gender of respondents (female=0, male=1) and the following classroom variables: proportion of female students in the class and subject of course (non-math/science=0, math/science=1). Gender of instructor (female=0, male=1) was used as an additional classroom variable for the student sample. With the student sample only, ordinary least squares regression was used to determine the extent that gender and classroom variables could predict variation in perceived differences between male and female students.

Since no prior assumptions were made about causal relationships among the independent variables, a stepwise selection process was used to enter variables into the model. All independent variables were included in the analysis for the purposes of reporting. The small size of the instructor sample made the use of regression analysis inappropriate; the zero-order correlation co-efficients were used as the only indicator of relationships among the findings.

FINDINGS

The mean difference score on perceived Verbal Participation for the student sample was -.503, with a standard deviation of 1.11. Only two classroom variables exhibited significant zero-order correlations with differences scores for the student sample: proportion of women in the class (r=-.51, p=.0001), and math/science classes (r=.20, p=.0037). Gender of instructor did not have a significant zero-order correlation coefficient with difference scores (r=-.04, p=.5397). Gender of respondent demonstrated a small but significant relationship with difference scores (r=.26, p=.0003). There were moderate correlations between gender of respondent and proportion of women in the class (r=-.36, p=.0001) and between instructor gender and course subject (r=.20, p=.0001). Other correlations among independent variables ranged from .03 to .15, not statistically significant at the .05 level.

Table 2
Results of Regression Analysis: Predictors of Adult Student Perceptions of Verbal Participation (N=197)

Independent variable	Model R^2	Partial R^2	B	F
% Women in Class	.312	.312	-2.952	62.93**
Course Subject	.333	.021	.377	5.55*
Respondent Gender	.338	.005	.161	1.48
Instructor Gender	.338	.000	-.093	.04

Overall R^2 .338 Adjusted R^2 .324 F 24.49**

* p < .05 ** p < .001

Results of the regression analysis are reported in Table 2. Examination of residuals from the initial regression results revealed three outliers with studentized residuals greater than 3.0. These cases were deleted from the sample for the final analysis; thus, the final N for the student sample was 197. As the table indicates, only proportion of women in the class made an appreciable contribution to the regression equation. While the F value for course subject was statistically significant, its contribution to the explained variance was small.

The instructors' mean difference score on perceived Verbal Participation was .330, with a standard deviation of .971. Proportion of women in the class was the only classroom variable with a significant zero-order correlation with difference scores for the instructor sample (r=-.65, p=.0001). The correlation of difference scores and class subject (r=.15, p=.4241) was not statistically significant; gender of respondent and difference scores were also not significantly related (r=.12, p=.5062). The zero-order correlations between independent variables ranged from -.256 to .053. None were statistically significant at the p<.05 level.

DISCUSSION

In summary, the regression equation accounted for a small but significant amount of variance in perceived differences for the student sample; the amount of explained variance was almost entirely due to the proportion of women students in the class. The correlation analyses for the instructor sample suggest that at least a comparable amount of variation in instructor perceptions is related to proportion of women students in the class. Thus, for this sample, the results of this study provide little evidence of a meaningful relationship between classroom variables or respondent gender to perceptions of gender-related differences in verbal participation, with the exception of proportion of women in the class. This finding seems to support the logical assumption that the relative verbal participation of women and men students will reflect their numbers in the class. However, other research suggests that this assumption is not necessarily valid in all classroom situations. Karp and Yoels (1975), for example, found that relative participation of female and male students varied even when the percentage of females and males was approximately equal. It is possible that perceptions of behavior, as assessed in the present study, may be influenced more by numbers of men and women in the class than by actual behavior. As women students achieve equal or greater representation in educational settings, it may be perceived that they have a comparable influence on the dynamics of classroom learning experiences, when in fact that is not the case. Alternatively, adult mens' and womens' participation may be more equitable than previous research with children and youth might suggest.

For the student sample, it is notable that controlling for proportion of women diminished the already small extent that class subject and respondent gender predicted variance in perceptions. It would appear, for example, that women's apparent tendency to rate women more highly on Verbal Participation than men is due to the obvious fact that more women are in classes with higher proportions of women. However, though small to moderate, the correlations among the independent variables in this study, resulting from the nonexperimental nature of the data, prevent definitive conclusions about each variable's relative impact (Pedhazur, 1982). Comparisons of classes matched according to characteristics such as proportion of men and women or subject matter are needed to support such conclusions.

From a practical stance, the need to ensure that perceptions of classroom involvement are accurate is perhaps the most important implication of this study. Since previous research has suggested that verbal participation does vary, at least in some classroom situations, for female and male students, it is important to confirm the relationship between perceptions and actual behavior. As suggested above, if perceptions of relatively small differences are accurate, and differences are related to proportions of women and men in the class, there may be little need for deliberate efforts to change patterns of behavior for adult students. However, if perceptions are inaccurate, it is likely that students and instructors may need to develop increased sensitivity to classroom dynamics to ensure equitable participation.

In addition to investigating the relationship of perceived differences to actual classroom participation, several other questions are suggested for further research:

1. Do other variables have a consistent impact on perceived differences in male and female participation? A considerable amount of variance in perceptions was left unexplained by the variables in this study. There may be other individual or classroom characteristics with a more substantial impact on perceptions as well as actual behavior.
2. How do perceptions of female and male behavior vary across educational settings and populations, for example, for adults from different cultural backgrounds or in nonformal learning activities? This study was conducted in a rather traditional educational setting with a fairly homogeneous sample of students. Further research must be done before generalizations can be made to other adult populations.
3. Finally, what is the relationship, if any, between gender-related differences in classroom participation and learning outcomes, such as achievement and satisfaction? While this question does not emerge directly from this study's findings, it is a particularly important question from a practical perspective. While on the whole, perceived differences identified in this study were small, it is not clear to what extent even small differences may be significant in affecting students' educational experiences.

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Investigations into the Human Phenomenon of Commitment

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Abstract: The purpose of this research is to provide an in-depth look at commitment and to study the forms it takes. Commitment occupies a central place in adult education, though it is not a frequent topic of discussion or research. Here it is argued that commitment is a crucial aspect, individually and organizationally, of the human experience. The research demonstrates that commitment varies in intensity, is multi-directional, and that people often feel competing loyalties, such as client well-being versus upholding the organizational structure, belief in the mission versus the comfort and goodness of an organizational group. Such conflicts of commitment influence motivation and action, including a person's duration of loyalty. Reasons why it is crucial for adult educators to understand the nature of commitment are assumed, such as to create a climate of learning and growth, to enhance the meaning of learning and to ensure a long and multi-beneficial arrangement for others and for ourselves.

Simply asking why a person participates in voluntary or social action is not sufficient to uncover the deep aspects of commitment because discourse of one's own values is rarely offered at such a superficial level. On one hand, when we express our motivation, we do so with our actions. We are for the most part able to reflect on those actions and understand our motivation. On the other, even though action may be an expression of commitment, to understand it requires juxtaposing it with our value structure. In motivation there is something of a reward structure. In commitment, we act on our beliefs. Granted, the differences are slippery, but to comprehend them brings clarity to the meaning issues of social participation, citizenship, and civic learning. What are the assumptions about people, society, and life contained in the various forms of commitment? What forms does commitment take?

Significance:

Commitment is so inexorably linked with values and beliefs that, as a topic, it cannot be studied without a parallel investigation of meaning. What aspects of activists' commitment have meaning for them? It is probably a fair assertion that to uncover the meaning of a person's experience one need only examine their commitments--to what they are committed, how much they are committed, and why they are committed. For our purposes, commitment is a state of being whereby someone is bound morally, emotionally, and/or intellectually to some entity or notion (to an ideology, or other people, for example). Viewed another way, commitment directs our loyalties, obligations and/or actions toward other people, ideologies, and/or visions. To study commitment, one must discover not only the object of commitment but also the reasons (values) for the commitment in the first place.

It will be seen that there is varying intensity of commitment, that there are many directions and foci of loyalty, and that activists feel competing and wrenching loyalties, such as people well-being versus upholding the agency or organizational structure, belief in the mission versus the comfort and goodness of the group. Such conflicts of commitment influence motivation and action, mostly in negative ways. However, some conflicts are inevitable. Moreover, the assumption will be challenged that commitment is an aspect of life so taken for granted and so deep within us, that it lies beyond our abilities to discuss it, let alone nurture and control it. Indeed, it will be shown that commitment is not only understandable, but it is highly variable, influenced by many different factors. In short, it is crucial for managers and activists alike to understand the nature of their own commitment in order to create a climate of learning and growth, to enhance the meaning of volunteering, and to ensure a long and multi-beneficial arrangement for clients, volunteers, and staff members.

Methodology:

This research was ethnomethodological in nature and was based on a four-year study of activists in feminist peace settings, gay rights settings, and neighborhood organizations. In order to highlight the essential aspects of commitment, an effort was made to interview individuals from an assortment of organizations. This strategy enabled the investigator to compare and contrast intensity of commitment, which proved to be a valuable technique. Over time, working hypotheses were developed regarding the nature of commitment, the objects of commitment and the strength of commitment. Theoretical sampling occurred for one year, out of which came clarified themes and models. Triangulation was achieved by comparing data from these settings with settings of a more status quo nature.

Participant observation and unstructured interviewing were used to complete this study. Interviews ranged in length from 15 minutes to three hours. No formal list of questions was used, although a conscious effort was made to touch upon key issues during each interview. As the study progressed, the key issues became more apparent and interviews became more focused. The process of moving from unfocused to focused interviewing permitted issues to unfold gradually and gave the research its grounding. Interviews at the early stages usually began with "reportorial" questions such as the who, what, where, and why of events. In other words, the easiest questions were asked first, such as, "what do you do as a volunteer?" In subsequent interviews, or in the latter parts of lengthy initial interviews, probing questions were introduced to encourage more subjective and even reflective opinions and interpretations of pertinent issues, e.g., "what are the risks of talking about your volunteer work at the AIDS center with family and friends?" If the probing questions had been asked too soon, they could have damaged the rapport between the interviewer and the person being interviewed. Proper timing was crucial.

Interviews were most often tape recorded and field notes were written following interviews and field observations. The interviews and notes were transcribed, often yielding 25 pages of typed notes for every hour of interviewing or observation. The field notes include a description of the facilities, the people, who interacts with whom, and what occurs in the daily operations.

Population/Context:

Specifically, over 20 activists were the source of the data. During the study over 100 interviews were conducted, yielding thousands of pages of transcripts. Organizations in urban, suburban, and rural areas were included. The organizations included neighborhood groups, free houses for people with AIDS, and peace and feminist movement-based organizations.

Understanding Volunteers' Focal Points of Commitment:

A major conclusion was made that there are many focal points of commitment, though they tend to cluster around four groupings: commitment to self, organization, others (students, clients, etc), and social mission. The nature of commitment to these clusters differs markedly, evoking varying degrees of sacrifice, prompting various kinds of conflict, and providing differing challenges. Among the most pressing mitigating circumstances is the client/organization tradeoff and the group/social vision tradeoff. These extenuating tradeoffs are by-products of the limits to effectiveness of attempts to organize free will. An understanding of commitment furnishes adult educators with appreciation of the values that drive social participation, the creation of a sense of mission, and, indeed, learning itself.

The focal points of commitment are manifold. We found volunteer commitment aimed at clients, social causes, colleges and universities, missions or goals, patients, the activists, institutions, a television station, community betterment, adult students, human processes (such as learning), their God, nationalist concerns, and of course, combinations of the above. It was possible to delve deeper into the meaning of commitment by understanding the attending values of the focal points of commitment. The values that were uncovered were equally, if not more, assorted and numerous. Activists find value in peace, learning, literacy, health, justice, leisure, a drug-free society, helping, equality, dignity in dying, coming to the rescue, amusement, growing gardens, rehabilitation, participation, social forums, religion, fellowship, cultural information, justice, expedience, and tradition. The list is endless.

The Extent of Commitment and Degrees of Sacrifice:

"My basic tenet is that I just want to keep doing the work I believe is important to do, education in <a correctional facility>"

The quote above, offered by a volunteer in a correctional facility, tells us only that the volunteer is committed. We may gather from it that, in her own opinion, her actions are consistent with her commitment. What we do not know, however, is the intensity of her commitment. How can we measure intensity of commitment? By the choices people make? (Given a choice, would she give up her paying job to work for half the amount at the prison?) Can we measure the intensity by her duration of service? By the sacrifices made?

The active goodwill and commitment of activists cannot be measured by amount of time, or duration of service, alone. In this section commitment is shown to be highly variable in intensity in terms of the amount of effort exerted, risks taken, and choices and sacrifices made by activists. Dedication to a cause, we found, is a matter of personal choice, though how that dedication is organized is influenced by such factors as organizational setting, attitudes of staff, and opportunities for learning and growth. We begin by asking a former civil rights organizer how he balanced daily activities of work, family, and leisure with his organizing and activism.

Interview: "So what was an average week for you when you were an active organizer?"

Mr. Braley: "When I was an active organizer I would...outside of work time I would be probably organizing the vast majority of the time. Organizing was my life."

Interviewer: "Your life?"

Mr. Braley: "It was my life. I mean work was--I mean PAID work was just something I needed to do to get by. It's been so rare that I've been able to combine my organizing with paid work but they've almost always been separate. So paid work was just something I had to do to subsidize my organizing. And that's how I looked at it..Because organizing was what I really like to do. (pause) Had to do. Once you have awakened you never really sleep again."

Contained in Mr. Braley's statement is recognition of degree of sacrifice and choice made.

The assumption is made that sacrifice is recognition of degree of sacrifice and choice made. The assumption is made that sacrifice is an essential aspect, a necessary condition, of activist work. Where there is sacrifice, there is commitment. For many people, balancing volunteering with the constraints of daily living is a difficult endeavor, but numerous activists would gladly trade their jobs for the chance to be full-time activists. In some ways, Mr. Braley is a case in the extreme--a former soldier of militancy, he has participated in numerous violent acts, all motivated by his mission.

Mr. Braley: "To die for the cause of black liberation seemed an honor. After all, hadn't Malcolm done it? And Martin Luther King?"

Sacrificing one's life for the sake of a cause, though there is no intention here of suggestion this to be the ultimate expression of voluntary action, is, however, an ultimate expression of commitment.

Mr. Braley: "Because of what happened back then, I think the government will try a little harder to listen to what black leaders are saying and try to implement changes before there's a bloodbath. But everything's a process. That's what I came to understand. Nothing happens overnight."

Mr. Eisen elaborates the nature of sacrifice for the sake of a cause.

Interviewer: "How do you make decisions about, about work versus personal life and well-being now?"

Mr. Eisen: "The reality is that when you're involved in any kind of political work, your personal life and your work life is more integrated. I mean your values cross back and forth constantly and that's just something that I've come to accept."

There is a strong connection between sacrifice and commitment, as seen in this next statement.

Interviewer: "Forty-two. There's a lot of people who--your age, forty-two--who would have been working on careers and have their house in the suburbs and their boat and their BMW and, three kids or something like that. I'm just wondering ...how did you make a different choice? What, what went into that? What makes you--what's the difference there?

Mr. Eisen: (pause) "Well I think it's--I think basically what I've said--although I'm not sure I ever sat down and said it absolutely--is that social and political work is the most important thing in my life. Just in the last year or so, as a matter of fact, I've begun thinking more about having a child or my own. I think that we need to legitimize our lives and our work because this society as a whole makes you invisible. It makes you non-existent in terms of you can't open up the daily paper, you can't open up magazines, you can't open up things that validate in a sense your existence you do not see reflected in your culture or in your media. And so developing tools to deal with that invisibility, and, and recognizing it, is real important."

Mr. Eisen chose his life-style in part because it affirms his own identity, making him "visible" in a modern society which doesn't reflect his existence. Mr. Eisen's thoughts are certainly not exclusive to political activists, or to any other activists, for that matter. His statement says something about the need for citizens of all kinds to find their values reflected in the culture or media. We all need validation.

To return to the theme of intensity of commitment, and sacrifices, the following passage points to having to select between competing objects of commitment.

Interviewer: "In everyone's life there are things that compete. What are the things in your own personal life that compete with your activism?"

Ms. Allen: "I have sacrificed a lot and I am wondering how much more I want to do. Do I want to continue to sacrifice? In August of last year I was nervous breakdown material and I learned a lot from it. I look back on my college career and I regret not having done more school work. At the time I felt the world is going to fall apart and there is so much evil and how can I be doing school work, even if I love it. For any young people I say look at this as an incredible opportunity and you owe it to the 'revolution' (quote/unquote) to do your homework. To this day I still suffer because I just don't have the facts."

Interviewer: "How do you make those decisions between your volunteer activities, which is a huge portion of your life, and the more personal side of your life such as friends and lovers?"

Ms. Allen: "Maybe I am too extreme a case. I basically gave up my personal life. All my personal social events were done with because I had to do this <Peace activism.> I enjoyed it but these last five months have just blown my mind. I have very few friends here but enough. I love to draw, dance and play music. But I don't have time to do those things. That's okay because I made that decision. I don't feel bitter; rather, I feel appreciative that I have been given so many gifts. So the decision to sacrifice has been a good decision for me."

Momentary regrets, working to the edge of burnout, giving but feeling unsure of its importance, seem to be sub-themes of the nature of volunteer commitment. Though these are extreme examples, their applicability to other settings is profound. Commitment is not constant. In any context, there are threats to one's commitment, such as lack of validation, lack of support, burnout, and regrets of sacrifices made. Yet, even extreme cases show signs of durability. Commitment does not usually snap. It bends with great elasticity.

Conclusions-The Evolution of Commitment:

Mr. Osway: "I think the change I've seen enough of to mention is that people become more political. I mean we are an apolitical organization but you hear a lot more like, 'at my office today they brought in someone to talk about AIDS and I was surprised at how these people were, so I brought up a few points."

Though there is ample evidence to suggest that volunteer commitment endures a powerful evolution, what clues can we find to explain the nature of that evolution? One volunteer, a three year worker at a hospice, informs us:

"People start feeling comfortable here and I think a lot of that has to do with if they like the people they are around, too. I don't think it's necessarily the organization, but if they like the people that they meet when they are here that makes it sort of come together. Then its, 'Okay, the organization is serving a good purpose and it's also got great people.' I think that has an effect on people.

"They develop the desire to talk about death and dying more, in other places. You know, 'had a discussion with my mother about dying,' those are the kinds of stories that people tell a lot. That's a big change."

Becoming accustomed to an organization may be a starting point for the evolution of commitment. Activists look for a possible focus of commitment in the organization itself and then examine the mission of an organization, literally trying it out. According to a hospital coordinator:

Ms. Sutter: "Occasionally the volunteers' language will become very professional, as if they have just been to medical school. Not with nurses or with doctors, but with each other, their families and me."

Where is the focus then? Does commitment continue to evolve? According to a feminist/activist, Ms. Diaz, it does:

Ms. Diaz: "I have a very broad definition of activism which I think is a much easier way...it has to do with self identification first then you go through the whole spectrum from being involved with groups, to identifying issues, to writing to your Congress Person then trying to organize demonstrations. My emphasis is on education.

"There is that sense that everything I do makes a difference. So my definition of activism includes leading a positive lifestyle and I will actively confront the racism, militarism, sexism when I see it. If I hear someone making a racist remark I say something about it. Buying from the co-op, breast-feeding in public, every little thing that we do is a consciously active step. If enough people made enough conscious steps you'd change like that. (snaps her fingers)

"People say, "This is a cause I can have an effect on. My effect is stuffing envelopes: also my effect is, I can go out and tell people that they are not thinking or not educated on this.'

"This sounds angry, but I don't think it's real angry. Listening to myself, I thought, this sounds like all activists are angry, going around screaming, but it is very direct. I guess that that's true of volunteer programs in general. 'How can you not care about this [whatever] issue?"

During the screening process, perhaps at the orientation session, the volunteer coordinator of an AIDS hospice tries to warn volunteers of such a phenomenon.

"One of the things that I say to volunteers in the orientation is to be aware that ... don't set your goal too high in terms of what you're doing when you are not here. Because it happens all the time that I hear stories from activists about 'I brought this up and someone visibly pulled his lunch tray away from me.' People don't expect that. And I try to remind activists to, you know, realize that you can only do so much. You are not going to change the way one hundred people think...

"But it takes time. Volunteers come in, they start working, they feel that they are doing something important and they go out and start talking it up...they get a lot of very negative reaction. They are so engrossed in what they are doing here and think it's so important and necessary and, you said it, there are a lot of people who don't care or do care and are negative.

"I've heard a lot of that. That's why I added it to the orientation. Set your goals for what you're doing outside here realistically."

As a volunteer becomes accepting of change in values, his or her focus of commitment changes, and eventually, long-range goals change as well.

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EARLY HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT WORK: ITS IMPACT UPON PRESENT-DAY PRACTITIONERS

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Abstract: This study explores the history of the human resource development profession for understanding of the condition and perspective of modern day practitioners. Throughout history human resource development practitioners have contributed to the development of both the individual and overall organization. It is the contention of the author, however, that the framework in which the profession has developed has narrowed rather than broadened practitioners' overall perspectives. Implications of the history of the profession upon the future professional growth of human resource development practitioners are examined.

INTRODUCTION

Human resource development practitioners contribute to the development of both the individual employee and the overall organization. While understanding of the term human resource development varies widely, the term is used in this study in its broadest sense to include training and development, recruitment, hiring, promotion and career advancement, and compensation and benefits. Human resource development practitioners may be generalists who manage several or all of the above functions or specialists who concentrate in one area.

Although it is only recently that human resource development has emerged as an important organizational function, this study traces the roots of human resource development to the 1880s when the factory system came into prominence. Technological advancement altered methods of production, consequently changing preparation for work including both specific skill training for the job and education for the individual to function within a different work environment. As a result, management created the first human resource development position, which it called a welfare secretary, to meet these training and educational needs. This was the forerunner of the contemporary human resource development practitioner.

I became curious about the current condition of the human resource development profession when I was a co-researcher in a study assessing the workplace orientations and social perspectives of two occupational groups--human resource development practitioners and accountants. The assumption was made prior to the study that the human resource practitioner, because of the nature of the function, would have more of an overall perspective in his or her approach to the workplace. Surprisingly enough, tentative conclusions of the study suggested that, although the nature of human resource development activity in organizations has as its objective the impact upon others throughout the organization, at least some of these professionals may not have the corresponding broad social perspective. This potential double bind could, in fact, result in unintended negative consequences for professional and organizational effectiveness and development (Wiswell and Jacobson, 1989).

The above study, together with the role ambiguity I have experienced in my own professional involvement in human resource development, perplexed me and led to my examination of the profession's history. As I traced the movement from the time period of the American Industrial Revolution through World War II, I used the following questions to guide the research: How did changing working conditions influence the evolution and growth of the human resource development practice? Did similarities or patterns of practice exist across organizations of varying size and industry? How was the function incorporated into the organization; what support did it receive? Is there a relationship of the field's development in this time period to development in contemporary times? How did development affect the continuing education and professional development needs of individuals practicing in the field? Throughout this process I periodically shared my findings linking early welfare work to contemporary human resource development practice with professional peers in order that I could gain their perspective and examine potential biases I might have as a result of my professional experience.

CONDITIONS PRECIPITATING HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT WORK

Prior to the Industrial Revolution there were some early forms of employee development. One, which took place in small handicraft shops, was known as apprenticeship. This training, which required a long commitment from employer and employee, was usually limited to the employee emulating the employer. Another was training conducted in the first glass factory established by the colonists in Jamestown in about 1620. Here the Dutch, as the English were not skilled in this particular craft, trained the workers on the premises as needed. (Nadler, 1989, p. 20). Today this learning experience might be referred to as on-the-job training.

When the factory system gained prominence in the late 1800s, America changed from a nation of farmers and craftsmen to one of mechanics and technicians. Small shops were replaced with factories where individuals had specialized, limited functions. This specialization of function required controlling the workers in order that the summation of their individual efforts would result in a common product.

Although the early factories encompassed hundreds or even thousands of individuals, they were still organized in a decentralized, ad hoc manner with central management entrusting most aspects of day-to-day operations to the foremen. These functions--hiring, training, motivating and disciplining workers--were performed according to the foreman's own methods and standards. The basis of the foreman's approach, known as the 'driving' method, was a combination of authoritarian rule and physical compulsion. Management was generally indifferent to the methods used as long as the foreman achieved results (Nelson, 1975, p. 43).

There were wide disparities between employee working conditions as the worker's lot seemed to depend upon his or her particular employer rather than upon the size of the firm or the industry in which he worked. There were vast differences in opinion by factory owners on the necessity of desirable working conditions for employees. The majority of employers, seeing little connection between working conditions and production output, believed that it was unnecessary to give consideration to even basic working conditions such as ventilation, lighting, heating, general cleanliness, provisions for toilets, washrooms and availability of drinking water. A few employers, however, believing that production was affected by employee surroundings and employee morale, worked, although not unilaterally or uniformly, to improve the working environment. For example, at Standard Oil's Baltimore refinery, washing facilities were not provided for employees until about 1915, while at their Bayonne works the company supplied toilets, washrooms, and even lockers for the employees as early as 1903 (p. 26).

The workers, whose entire way of life was changing, were unhappy. The rapid growth of industry often resulted in impersonal working conditions where the workman became a commodity to be purchased as cheaply as possible and used to the maximum before being replaced. Workers resisted the change. The Philadelphia hatters protested by adopting a code restricting the growth of operations by allowing only one apprentice to a shop and by expelling any member who worked with labor-saving devices (Eurich, 1985, p. 27). Labor dissatisfaction with the transformation of the work environment resulted in decreased production and general inefficiency, not to mention increased unionism and a developing adversarial relationship between employee and employer (Kryder, 1985, p. 15).

There were other growing concerns for the employer. Financially, the new complex organization cost more to operate because of higher administration costs. Another developing liability was the growing public concern of the plight of the worker and the need for reform.

MANAGEMENT LOOKS FOR AN ANSWER IN WELFARE WORK

Employees' declining morale and loyalty, labor unrest, production problems, and increasingly derogatory public opinion caused managers to evaluate their organizations and to implement new activities and programs. These programs were based on management's belief that improving the lot of workers would inspire the employee to become a better person and, in turn, a better worker. While the employers perhaps looked at these activities with a degree of social commitment, they looked for the most part at the programs as investments in a more efficient and conservative working force. There were some examples where a more humanitarian rationale was expressed. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., being a devout Baptist, became an ardent advocate of welfare work, believing that everyone entrusted with industrial leadership was obligated to do all in his power to improve living and working conditions for employees (Jacoby, 1985, p. 51).

During the mid 1800s, New England mill owners recruited young women to come to work in their factories and live in boardinghouses. Benefits for the workers included upright pianos, literary evenings, newspapers, magazines, and lectures. The price for these amenities was required church attendance and conducting oneself in a manner approved by the mill owners--no immodesty, profanity, or dancing (Eurich, p. 28).

H. J. Heinz of Pittsburgh was an early leader in welfare programs. He made his factory 'the cleanest place on earth,' provided dressing rooms, washrooms, and a roof garden for lunch hour strolls for women workers, a recreation room, a relief association, and annual outings. He hired Aggie Dunn as, perhaps, the first welfare secretary. Known as "Mother Dunn", she hired, fired, checked on absentees, and counseled employees (Jacoby, p. 52).

Employers, regardless of their motives, showed great ingenuity in the varied programs they instituted. In a 1916 government study, these programs were described as "anything for the comfort and improvement, intellectual or social, of the employees over and above wages paid, which is not a necessity of the industry nor required by law." (p. 49). The National Civic Federation, the leading institutional proponent of welfare activities, reflected the diversity of the early programs when it attempted to define the bounds of welfare work: "[it] involves special consideration for physical comfort wherever labor is performed: opportunities for recreation; educational advantages; and the providing of suitable sanitary homes ... plans for saving and lending money, and provisions for insurance and pensions" (Nelson, p. 101).

WELFARE WORKS BECOMES SYSTEMIZED

Welfare work began to become systemized at the turn of the century. The catalyst for this development was the social reform movements which created a favorable intellectual climate for change and the introduction of several ambitious welfare programs which became models for other companies (p. 106). Welfare work as it developed took on different names in different organizations--Labor Employee Service, Industrial Betterment, Industrial Relations, Personnel, and eventually Human Resources. Growth of the function was erratic, however, as most companies assigned low priority to the programs, adopting them only after being prodded by the internal workforce or external forces such as unionism, government regulation, or scarce labor markets. It wasn't until the end of World War II that the majority of companies began to give status and influence to this function (Jacoby, p. 281).

Programs Used as Models

John Patterson, President of the National Cash Register Company of Dayton, Ohio, took dramatic action as a result of employee unrest and poor workmanship. He not only built a new well-lighted and well-ventilated factory, but he abolished the position of superintendent and created a decentralized committee system of management. In 1887, he hired Lena Harvey, who had been a deaconess, to oversee his new program which included suggestion boxes, prizes to efficient departments, a Relief Association which instituted safety rules and provided medical services, a library, a reading room, a kindergarten, a gardening program, Sunday School, and musical groups. He also built a theatre for educational programs including his regular lectures to employees.

Harvey, who saw herself as a missionary or diplomat called to the turbulent workplace to restore peace, directed the program successfully for five years (Kryder, p. 16). However at that time a strike occurred which caused Patterson to re-evaluate his methods. Although vestiges of the driving system of supervision had precipitated the dispute, not the welfare programs, Patterson eased out Harvey and discontinued many of her activities.

Deciding that the committee system and welfare work did not necessarily change the way a plant operated at the lowest level, Patterson appointed a young executive, Charles Carpenter, to head a new Labor Department. The new Labor Department assumed a variety of functions including hiring, employee record keeping, handling grievances, approving discharges, promoting sanitation and shop safety, conducting foreman's training, and keeping management abreast of any legislative or legal developments affecting the company. The creation of the National Cash Register Labor Department anticipated the personnel management movement of the World War I period and after (Nelson, p. 109).

Another pioneer was International Harvester, who developed a comprehensive welfare program. They differed, however, from other welfare programs of that day in that they realized that welfare work was no substitute for basic working conditions (Korman, 1967, p. 87). In 1901, they hired Gertrude Beeks, former president of the National Association of Women Stenographers, to head their program. Beeks began her work by first surveying and evaluating welfare activities of other companies. From the results of her survey, she determined that physical welfare for workers would be the basis for International Harvester's welfare program. She also called for educational and recreational facilities and measures to improve the homes of workers. She advised management on the importance of the separation of wages and hours from welfare work advocating that welfare work would not be successful if workers feared that it would affect their wages or hours. Beeks was successful in spite of the opposition of employees who were suspicious of her efforts and the production foremen who resented receiving orders from a woman. After three years, Beeks left International Harvester to become a nationally prominent management consultant (Kryder, p. 17).

Henry Bruere, a factory social workers who came highly recommended by John Dewey and Jame Addams, had also joined International Harvester. His major interest in welfare work was industrial education, and he first proposed to establish a college-like independent technical school which would teach arithmetic, English, and technical drawing and which would serve both the workers and the entire community. Management rejected the proposal believing that the programs should be primarily for the benefit of the employer, not the employees and the community. Bruere eventually succeeded in implementing an educational program with courses in mechanical drawing and English. Bruere again ran into difficulty, however, when he wanted to expand training for women beyond sewing and cooking. The company was reluctant to provide women with educational facilities similar to those offered to the men. Bruere was successful, however, in that when he left the firm in 1905, educational activities had become an integral part of the company (Korman, p. 99).

Henry Ford followed the advice of his minister when he hired Reverend Samuel Marquis, an outspoken urbane Episcopalian dean, to administer his welfare programs. Marquis set up some of the most progressive programs of the time which were administered by a Sociological Department. From a negative perspective, Marquis implemented a profit sharing plan where investigators from the department could withhold up to half of an employee's salary if his conduct was inappropriate. Proper conduct included, among other things, residence in a proper neighborhood in a clean home, living with one's spouse, not taking boarders, and managing finances properly. On the humanitarian side, Marquis' programs did provide medical care, vacations, and housing assistance. This welfare work was a good example of the numerous positive reforms conducted with a strong undercurrent of social control (Kryder, p. 18).

Opposition to Human Resource Development Programs Impact Profession

Welfare workers often led a precarious existence. The more outspoken and ambitious workers who did not avoid controversy seldom lasted for long. Early programs were developed largely at the expense of the foreman's traditional role. When early companies set up welfare departments, some of the shop foreman's duties and authority were moved to the new function. These changes required the foreman, a long-time defender of the status quo, to reevaluate his role in the organization. This created tension and an adversarial relationship between production and the human resource development function.

Most workers probably accepted welfare programs with little enthusiasm or criticism. However, records of employees' reactions to welfare work reveal that at least some employees often criticized welfare programs as poor substitutes for higher wages and as being a demeaning intrusion into their private lives. At a Maine textile mill a group of angry young female workers called the welfare secretary "Sanitary Jane" when they told her that they were just as clean as she was and would not submit to further examinations. Surprisingly enough the welfare workers were often surprised and hurt when employees criticized their programs (Nelson, p. 55). The programs were presented by management as a benefit for employees but in reality they were primarily instituted as a capital investment in the firm's operation. Intuitive employees realized the conflict and were naturally suspicious of the welfare workers implementing the programs.

THE NEW PROFESSION

As early as 1898, qualifications of the welfare worker were described as, "an expert--one who can devote his whole time to becoming acquainted with the employees and promoting their general welfare; one who looks after sanitary conditions, seeks to increase the general intelligence, fosters a healthful social life, and strives to improve the general morale" (Nelson, p. 111). The early practitioners had diverse backgrounds--they had been secretaries, social workers, teachers, nurses, doctors and ministers. One prominent reformer described the situation accurately when he said that there was not one science or art which could be mastered in preparation for all kinds of welfare work. He said that the common denominator was an interest in improving the lives of working people, consistent with the employer's economic objectives.

In the 1890s a group of these welfare and charity workers in the New York area began to meet informally to exchange ideas on social and civic problems. Later they added business leaders and political reformers to their group resulting in the first organized effort to promote welfare workers. The most important early organization promoting welfare work was the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation. It began from a series of employers' conferences sponsored by the National Civic Federation in 1904 and took on an important role by sharing information about welfare work, by furnishing descriptions of model programs and good practices, and by promoting the professionalization of welfare work.

CONCLUSION

Certain conditions precipitated the development of human resource development practice. When the factory system came into prominence, business was faced with a new problem. In order to produce a product from the collective efforts of the workers, they had to have a certain kind of employee. Consequently, they created a new position in their organizations, first known as the welfare secretary, to develop programs to educate their employees to be good, productive workers. These programs by the early pioneers were a strange mixture of both social control and social justice, but they played a major role in the development of human resource development practice as it exists today.

The history of the endeavor has an impact upon professionals currently in the field whether they are cognizant of it or not. There are unconscious expectations of the role embedded in the profession; and, when these are not met, frustration and ambivalence may occur. For example, a 'new' human resource development practitioner may want to be in the field to help people develop as individuals, not understanding that employers' objectives may not be the same. However, by understanding the historical context of the field, the practitioner may be desensitized and become less defensive. This can both improve practitioners' current performance and enable them to better direct their future professional development.

The history of the human resource development profession has important implications for the future professional development. Lessons can be learned from examining past successes and failures. For example, changes in the workplace occurring as a result of technological changes dramatically affected the development of the profession, and for the most part early practitioners were reactive, not proactive. Contemporary practitioners can learn from this and be cognizant of their role in relation to their changing organizational, technical and economic environment and strive for a proactive rather than a reactive stance. In addition, the practice has traditionally not received a great deal of support from employers or employees. This has often put the practitioners in the field in an uncomfortable, if not untenable, position. Current practitioners should search for ways to improve their status and influence, which will in turn improve their effectiveness.

Both early and contemporary human resource development practitioners have diverse educational and experiential backgrounds. These varied backgrounds have undoubtedly enabled then to meet the diverse needs of both individuals and organizations. As the profession matures, it should work to build and maintain a framework for professionalization which incorporates this valuable diversity.

Human resource development professionals should look to their own continuing education and development for answers to the double binds and dilemmas that have plagued the practice in the past. This will enable them to continually become more effective in the workplace, thus improving their position and status. It will encourage them to work together to improve their condition and to develop the overall perspective which allow them to achieve their continuing objective of developing human resources.

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The AFS Volunteer Resources Study: An International Investigation of Volunteerism in Eight Nations

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Abstract: To learn more about the factors motivating and encouraging volunteers to actively participate, the AFS Center for the Study of Intercultural Learning undertook an open-ended, eight-nation study of volunteerism. The research brought critical analysis to bear on what volunteering in particular societies means to individuals and organizations.

Methodology:

In each of the countries involved in the study - Australia, Canada, Ecuador, Germany, Jamaica, Japan, Spain, and the United States - independent researchers living in those countries explored the trends of volunteer activity through interviews with volunteers from a wide variety of organizations as well as individuals who are not volunteers, or who "volunteer" outside of the context of a formal voluntary group. A strong attempt was made to meet both challenges of generalizability and accuracy. The strategy used to meet the challenge was to interview volunteers in a wide variety of settings and to observe volunteers in many situations within many types of organizations. The findings were based on the entire data set and not just part of it.

The research was guided in part by the work of Yvonne Lincoln and Egon G. Guba (1985). The naturalistic/qualitative approach assumes that reality is understandable only holistically, and is best understood from a variety of perspectives. It also proved very suitable for studying the concept of volunteering. No claim is made that the full diversity of voluntary action is represented in this study. Rather, the goal was to carefully examine qualitative (feeling, meaning, contextual) aspects of enough volunteers within a sufficient number of organizations to allow us to draw conclusions about what volunteering means to those who participate in it.

The Concept of Volunteering

While the contexts in which volunteering occurs are considerably different in each country, findings suggest that many of the same key factors surrounding motivation, commitment, and learning operate in all these countries, though their importance may be prominent in some countries while seldom recognized in others. In this paper, the authors provide descriptions of these factors along with examples that have implications for volunteer programs and adult education.

Four areas of society influencing the shape of volunteerism emerged from the study and pose interesting questions for volunteer organizations. Due to the international scope of the project, the first area was political. Governments often assume responsibility for various tasks and services that affect the population as a whole. Volunteers often fill the roles that the government cannot (or will not) undertake. For this reason, volunteering is sometimes seen as allowing the government to avoid its responsibilities and at other times threatening, because it organizes people and undertakes activities outside of government control. In Spain the government is highly centralized and assumes control of most public services, but increasingly the volunteer organizations are taking on tasks that the government does not. A government may provide more assistance or place fewer restrictions on exchange programs if they are perceived not to pose a threat as educational organizations. However, if the values, norms, and ideas that accompany the exchange program are perceived as destabilizing, even an educational program could come under scrutiny with strict guidelines.

According to Reichlin (1982), it was Dewey who provided the most enduring rationale for voluntary action. Equating volunteerism with strong citizenship, and strong citizenship with a strong democracy, Dewey promoted the concept that voluntary organizations provide arenas for civic service, social participation and self-enlightenment. In recruitment efforts to this day, volunteers are often persuaded to join organizations based on the dual benefit of developing their individual potential while helping the nation. As long as democracy is a goal embraced by the host country, this rationale will work.

Social class emerged as the second area with some distinctions. Though "helping others" is a trait found in every social class, the ideas of "volunteering" (and correlated words in other languages) are typical only of the middle and upper classes. Usually, volunteering is an organized activity that fits into the formal networks of existing social classes. No case illustrates this as clearly as Jamaica, where the type of motivation, commitment, and leadership found within a volunteer group varies according to social class. In most countries, AFS volunteers are more likely to be middle or upper-middle class; subsequently, many of the exchange students and host families also come from these classes. For these reasons, AFS is sometimes viewed as an elitist organization. Ecuador is a case in point, where volunteers from some community-based organizations see their causes as more "worthy" than the AFS mission, which is poorly understood by the general public. AFS is actively pursuing increased diversity of program participants and hosts to strengthen its volunteer base and help convey a better understanding of its goals to all segments of society.

In many countries, volunteering is seen as a woman's activity, providing the third area of controversial influence. Men are also often involved in politics or labor unions but their voluntary tasks are not considered to be volunteering. Certain types of volunteer activity have traditionally relied on women, often in the form of the "Women's Auxiliary" of a men's service organization, assuming the willingness of all women to work without pay. Such unpaid labor of women is considered exploitative by some, and this reaction has affected the availability of women volunteers in countries like Australia. AFS is now examining possible methods of offering volunteers more responsibility, real decision-making authority, and a creative learning experience. In the

United States, more and more women are joining the workforce and the decision to delegate limited discretionary time that is not perceived as beneficial to their jobs or families is rare. AFS has begun to work with women professionals, offering them ways to get involved and still maintain their jobs, status, and families.

Options to participate can offer people a sense of challenge and learning. Programs of voluntary action that create flexible options, which take into account the learning needs of volunteers, will have the greatest potential for remaining responsive to volunteers and serving as model institutions for society.

In the United States people make individual choices about the organizations they will support. People are motivated to volunteer for reasons that relate largely to their individual needs, desires, and beliefs. The fourth area of influence involves the notion of individualism as compared to collectivism and mutual dependence. In Japan people have specific group allegiances; family, company, school, and work. Each group requires certain norms of behavior. For an individual to volunteer to help someone outside the group is seen as unusual at best. Any behavior that makes people more prominent or different from the norm is not encouraged in Japan. People who do volunteer for AFS in Japan often do so from a sense of obligation because they feel that the exchange experience helped them or their son or daughter. Another type of mutual dependence occurs in Jamaica, where helping others is the norm. In this case, working-class Jamaicans have the sense that they themselves might be in need of assistance at some point, and so are obligated to help those who need it now. The "group" then, for Jamaicans, seems to include all people, while in Japan the group is restricted. AFS must decide when to appeal to individual motives for volunteering and when to emphasize the social obligations a particular member may have toward the group or organization.

Motivations to Volunteer

A central focus of this study was to understand volunteer motivation. An important discovery was that the motivation that initially attracts the volunteer is not the same as the one that keeps the volunteer involved. Organizations that pay attention solely to attracting new volunteers may risk losing them once their initial needs are met. Knowledge of why people become and remain involved in volunteer programs provides a useful basis for shaping programs. Raymond Wlodkowski (1985) addresses the topic of adult motivation to learn in a way that is applicable to volunteer settings and particularly useful when designing programs. Eva Schindler-Rainman and Ronald Lippitt (1971) relate motivation and retention to the design of specific program activities that foster supportive communication patterns and provide a conducive climate for learning. Ilsley and Niemi (1981) used the work of Schindler-Rainman and Lippitt when they proposed rather specific explanations of what keeps volunteers motivated. Some specific types of motivation are discussed below.

Learning through the process of volunteering turned up as a motivating factor for volunteers in most of the countries studied.

People are sometimes attracted to an organization by the potential to learn, but continued learning is critical in keeping volunteers.

From the inception of the field, adult educators, such as Jane Addams, John Dewey, and Eduard Lindeman, have recognized the importance of voluntary learning, the contributions of voluntary organizations that perform adult education activities, and the value of the learning that occurs from community service within a variety of volunteer contexts. One cannot fail to be impressed by the remarkable diversity of learning opportunities available to people through community involvement in volunteer-based institutions. In attempting to bring forth important aspects of the learning issues of volunteers, the researchers realized that learning is pervasive in volunteer settings, but that it is often taken for granted, and therefore overlooked by volunteers, staff, and observers. Most of the observations of learning in volunteer settings were made on second and third round interviews. Certainly volunteers recognize their learning achievements, but very few immediately saw learning as a powerful motivator.

The researchers saw that distinctions could be made about what volunteers learned, why they learned what they did, and how they managed their learning. Two important relationships unfolded, namely how learning is connected with a person's object of commitment and how learning is connected with duration of service. By investigating patterns emerging from many responses, it became clearer that there is a link between the quality of volunteer's learning and the quality of a volunteer's service.

According to Mezirow (1988), what and how we learn can be changed through critical reflection. Whether the learning is instrumental or communicative, a person, group or collective can transform the meaning perspective of an experience through critical reflection. Mezirow asks adult educators to realize the potential of transformation in designing learning experiences. Volunteer organizations can also benefit from this enlightened stance by assisting adults in understanding the meaning of their experience through participation in voluntary action. Just as it is the "adult educator's task to foster more authentic meaning perspectives by creating dialogic communities of learners," so too, volunteer coordinators can strive for Mezirow's "conditions of ideal discourse" to maximize the learning potential.

Volunteering is still a primary way in which an individual can attempt to change the world, or just as surely, prevent or fight an undesirable change. For this reason, volunteers with **social change** motivations may line up on two sides of the same issue - abortion, for example. Included in this category are also the local-level issues on a variety of concerns such as traffic safety, neighborhood preservation, or trash disposal. These motivations are related to a particular cause or ideal, and are likely to have both intellectual and emotional appeal. AFS is attempting to explain its contribution to the world so as to attract volunteers who value the purpose of social change. As one AFS volunteer replied when asked to describe the benefit of intercultural communication, "It's peacemaking, [illegible] guess."

Those who feel that they have received some benefit from an organization will often volunteer out of a sense of gratitude to the organization. Volunteering to repay a debt was a common theme found in the eight countries participating in this study. Not surprisingly, **obligation and sense of duty** to the organization was a dominant factor among Japanese volunteers. Exchange program participants and their families provide valuable resources because of their gratitude to individuals in other countries.

In virtually every country, **religious motivations** for volunteering were strong. Many people who belong to a religious congregation will volunteer within that group. Religious beliefs may also encourage a person to help others. In this study, Ecuadorians were perhaps most likely to cite religious motivations for volunteering, while religion had little impact in Japan.

Climbing the **career** ladder often means volunteering for some professional or community service organization. Canadians, for example, often include their volunteer service in their resumes, and Jamaican service clubs typically function as informal business networks. In Germany, young people may try out their professional credentials in a volunteer setting in the hopes of later securing paid employment in their field. AFS is determining what career paths can be developed from volunteer involvement in an exchange organization.

The case studies in Germany and the U.S. showed many cases of **parents who follow their children through volunteering** for schools, scouting, religious education, and exchange programs. In these cases, the volunteers often left one association to take on responsibilities in the next one that affected their children. The parents of exchange students should be continually asked to participate and encouraged to stay with the program, even after their children have left home.

Conclusion

Societies organize themselves in different ways to meet the needs of their populations, but all depend to a greater or lesser extent on the freely given time and labor of individuals or groups within the society. Not-for-profit programs and many adult education projects have long depended on volunteers working in a variety of capacities.

To enhance volunteer participation, organizations need to understand how the cultural and societal context affects volunteering in general and the propensity of individuals to volunteer. Strategies used to recruit and maintain volunteers should mesh with the values of the society. Organizations that only understand one part of the society may have difficulties gathering a wider volunteer base and keeping the volunteer environment responsive.

Only through understanding the richness of the contextual dimensions of volunteering can we fully appreciate what kind of learning occurs in the volunteer experience. What we can say with certainty is that the reward structure of volunteers is related to learning. A logical conclusion with regard to the planning of training programs for volunteers is that the establishment of a healthy climate for discussion and learning should be a priority for programs of voluntary action. New insights, new questions, new ways of looking at teamwork, goals, and missions, not to mention confirmation of traditions, procedures and skills, all stand to have beneficial consequences for organizations. Volunteers can serve as a force of renewal and help determine the efficacy of an organization.

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TRANSFORMATION AND SELF-RENEWAL AT MIDLIFE: CHANGE PATTERNS, CURRICULUM POSSIBILITIES

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Abstract: This study of midlife professionals promotes a fresh look at change, particularly midlife change. It encourages finding possibilities for human development that may follow from disorder, crisis and chaos and it encourages adult educators to incorporate transformational approaches in keeping with our potentiality for human development and evolution.

Purpose of the Study

If continuing professional education is to be synonymous with lifelong learning then attention must be given to the needs of professionals throughout their lifespan. One of the periods of adulthood emerging as an area of special study is midlife and the midlife transition. Apparent now is that the midlife transition may constitute a turning point in life, holding the potential for what further development may come about in later life.

The purpose of this study was to enlarge our understanding of how a particular group of professionals--social workers--experience the midlife transition and how they resolve the tasks of midlife. The questions behind this piece of research were: What happens to these professionals in their professional practice, their personal relationships and their sense of self during the midlife transition? Also, what are the unique features of social workers' experience of the midlife transition and the developmental tasks of that period? Finally, for those for whom this period has ushered in major changes, what trigger events precipitated these changes?

Conceptual Framework

Some theorists have described the midlife transition as a time of turbulence, turmoil and transformation. Jung was among those who viewed it as such--a period of crisis. He called the midlife period the "noon of life," a turning point into the second half of life, holding the potential for radical and deep personality change. Throughout his writings concerning personality development and midlife, Jung (1954, 1969) identified several tasks associated with the second half of life: taking stock of one's life; confronting the contrasexual self; integrating the unlived life or shadow; and confronting and transcending the tension of opposites. Attending to these tasks functioned to further what was the central concern of Jung's whole psychology: the individuation process--the realization of the wholeness and uniqueness of the individual.

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Research that holds substantial promise for describing the various ways in which change can occur has been carried out by Prigogine and Stengers (1984) whose work on chemical systems has bearing on change in biological, physical, social and possibly human systems as well. Their findings center on the ability of systems, when approaching chaos, to transform, that is, to re-order their structure in unexpected, unpredictable ways. Disturbed order, they have found, does not necessarily lead to complete breakdown; it can lead the system to transcend its structure and leap to a higher level of self-organization. Thus, while Jung has contributed to our understanding of the goal of human psychological development, Prigogine and Stengers' theory has helped us understand the process by which this development can come about.

Design of the Study

The study was governed by a systems, evolutionary framework. According to systems theory, world phenomena are viewed as interrelated, interdependent and complex. The evolutionary paradigm shares this view of the world, but attention is given not so much to descriptions of the state of a given system but to descriptions of the processes by which a system changes. A research method that is consistent with both a systems and evolutionary view is an interpretive, qualitative one. That was the method used in this study. The participants for the study were selected on the basis of a survey of social workers. In the survey these social workers had indicated that they had passed through or were passing through a midlife transition. Twenty social workers, eleven women and nine men, were interviewed on two occasions. Both men and women were studied in order to allow for an exploration of the commonalities and differences between men and women with respect to the midlife transition.

Interpretivism was a method of inquiry that permitted an exploration of the subjective, complex experiences of people's lives. In keeping with this method, the researcher did not present herself as an image of objectivity; rather, she became immersed in the phenomenon. A primary concern of the investigator was to facilitate non-directive interviewing to permit the participants to reveal their concerns, issues and feelings in their own terms. In this regard, an unconventional interview tool, "clustering," (borrowed from creative writing [Rico, 1983]), and an open-ended interview schedule were used for data collection. All interviews were tape recorded and then transcribed onto a computer. In her reporting, the researcher sought to portray and make vivid the experiences and feelings of the participants. This rich description was expected to give the reader enough detail to make sense of the experiences described. This accords with Eisner's (1981) comment, "What one seeks is illumination and penetration. The proof of the pudding is the way in which [interpretivism] shapes our conception of the world or some aspect of it."

Analytic Procedures

In studying the data, close attention was paid to the language of the participants, the areas they chose to focus upon, and the significance they attributed to particular aspects of their life and life experiences. Analysis consisted of searching for patterns and themes among the individuals. These major themes and patterns were then examined through a template of relevant theory composed of the following: Jung's (1954, 1969) theory of personality development, Levinson's (1978) theory of midlife transition, and Prigogine and Stengers' (1984) and Jantsch's (1981) evolutionary theory of systems change. Through this theoretical template or theoretical "sieve," the findings emerged.

Study Findings

The study revealed that there is no single way in which midlife change occurs. Rather, change appears to occur in several distinct ways, which, in turn, are related to the nature of events, both internal and external, that individuals experience at midlife as well as to the particular responses that they have to those events. Three rather distinct sub-groups, representing three processes of change, emerged as follows:

A. Transformation

Transformative change is qualitative change leading the individual to a new view of self and the world, with a corresponding change in the areas of work and relationships. In the study, those (N = 5) who changed through transformation experienced a distinct shift in their view of self, which in turn was reflected in their personal priorities, relationships and work. With respect to the tasks of the midlife transition, identified by Jung above, these individuals showed the most evidence of attending to these tasks and to the individuation process. In their work they were exemplary, revealing a deep appreciation of their profession, a strong sense of compassion for those they served, and a notable absence of a professional persona. Significantly, the individuals were very aware that they had changed. They voiced this awareness through such phrases as, "I am different now," or "I used to be this way before." And finally, their language conveyed not stability nor stagnation, but rather a movement toward something, for most, a stronger self-definition. One woman said of herself, "I'm interested in knowing who the woman beyond her forties will be, and how she's evolving." Another said, "I'm getting older, I'm getting humbler, I'm getting wiser."

The findings suggest that the most powerful means to effect transformative change is the shocking and sudden critical event, "not of one's choosing," such as a sudden life-threatening illness or the death of a loved one. In the study, individuals experienced themselves as "pushed against the wall;" their illusions were put before them; then new insights and new behaviors followed. However, an externally generated crisis is not the only way of transformation. Transformation can come about also when inner "rumblings" and demands are felt and given attention. Choices and changes follow. Changes made in one area of life lead to changes in other areas of life and in the self. One individual described it in this way: "You jump off a diving board and you don't know who you are going to become." Regardless of the precipitating event--whether external or internal--transformation appears to require the following process: the experience of shock or inner turmoil, self-reflection, making hard choices, and finally, an integration of that experience. The individual emerges with a different view of self and of their world.

A noteworthy observation is that the individuals in this group conceptualized changed in ways that corresponded precisely to their own experience with change. For instance, the individual who faced sudden illness spoke of change as a trauma that "helps bring our other functions into gear." The one who lost a child spoke of change as going through the stages of the grieving process; and the one who initiated change in her life spoke of change as taking a leap and choosing life.

B. Self-Renewal

The second way of change was through self-renewal. In self-renewal, individuals, when faced with challenges from within or without, behave in ways that allow for the maintenance of their present life and sense of self. They make small adaptations that serve to offset the need for larger, more encompassing changes. They maintain a lifestyle distinguished by stability, continuity and control. In the study while the individuals (N = 11) did undergo further on-time social development, they demonstrated less evidence of undertaking the tasks of the midlife transition than was witnessed among the transformers. For instance, in the self-renewers there was considerable focus on achievement in work and work roles (a primary task of the first half of life), and comparatively little focus on reappraisal of the self (a primary task of the second half of life).

In self-renewal, individuals appear to live their lives in a way that is generally satisfying. However, self-renewal finds its most negative expression in two types of situations: the first is that in which individuals fail to "work through" and integrate a painful event. For instance, in the study an individual was suddenly fired and had the decision reversed. However, years later the event continued to plague him, and he planned to leave social work, which he now viewed as a hostile profession. In the second situation, individuals persist too long in trying to adapt to difficult work situations. Boredom, burnout and breakdown may be the consequence. One individual in this situation summed it up, "One person can only give so much, and I burnt myself out. I didn't know quite what I was doing."

C. On the Threshold of Becoming

Being on the threshold of becoming is characterized by the presence of struggle and flux in people's lives. Things feel like they are coming apart. These fluctuations are experienced in relation to work, relationships and self. For many individuals there is the experience of disengagement from work (primarily for women) and from family relationships (primarily for men). The fluctuations are experienced as a push and pull in relation to such events as a job change, a closer intimacy with the spouse, or a spiritual commitment. In the study, the individuals (N = 4) were outwardly stable, but their inner world was in a state of flux, struggle and ambivalence. One individual expressed it thus: "All of a sudden I was quite sick of work...is it me or the nature of work?" These fluctuations, however, were met with an equally powerful push toward maintenance of the present situation. One individual decided, "I'm going to be very cautious, because I could lose something." In contrast to a transformer who said "life is change," these individuals felt that change is disruptive, negative and costly.

Being in a state of flux leaves this group at midlife possibly the most vulnerable of any to change, and therefore on the threshold of becoming. We note in the literature (Jantsch, 1981) that when a system is in a state of flux, it is highly sensitive to stimuli from within and without. A small event can have major effects. If any group's future is unpredictable, it is this one's. One cannot predetermine what event might occur and the response the individuals might choose to make. They have the potential to become transformers or remain as self-renewers.

Summary

In summary, this study promotes a new look at change, and a fresh look at crisis events--those troublesome, chaotic moments that disturb prevailing patterns of behavior. It suggests that it is not the stable times and the comfortable times that yield transformative change: rather, it is the shocks and sudden innovations that become the triggers for developmental change and evolution. However, it became clear that change is intensely difficult to make at midlife. The forces operating against change, both from within and without, are profound. Defensive efforts of avoidance and distraction are called upon to curtail changes and maintain a stable state. On the other hand, when transformative change does occur, it can lead to a new level of consciousness, which in turn is expressed in work, love and self. Those individuals who underwent transformative change, whereby they moved to a new sense of self, were able to look back now to a happening that was important, even essential to them--as "the worst of times and the best."

Implications for Continuing Professional Education

Many years ago Jung commented with regret that there were no colleges to prepare adults for the demands of midlife. Today, the situation seems to persist. Continuing professional education continues to focus primarily on developing knowledge and skills directly related to professional practice, with little attention given to the whole individual and to the psychological tasks of the individual throughout his or her lifespan. This study indicates that professionals do face particular tasks, and may have unique learning needs and potentialities at midlife. It challenges adult educators to extend their view of educational purposes and methods to include those that promote psychological development and that further the individuation process. More specifically, however, the findings urge an expanded concept of learning at midlife. It is learning that utilizes the experiences, wisdom and consciousness of those people who have been "through the fire" of important marker events and transformations; such people can now share their wisdom with those embarking on their own experiences. The foregoing suggests that the teacher is not necessarily one who is expert, but one who facilitates the sharing of wisdom that occurs between others. In sum, we have perhaps overlooked the accumulation of knowledge in the individual life span, and we have overlooked the values of sharing different perspectives from different life stages.

We have noted as well in the study that stress and turmoil are the precursors of development. Stress is information, providing clues to an individual's "becoming." Stress, then, is not to be controlled and minimized through various stress management strategies, but rather, attended to, brought to awareness, reflected upon critically, and possibly acted upon. The role of the educator to promote this process of critical reflection is clear and in keeping with current directions in adult education.

And finally, the study underscores the importance of our using all available knowledge of the midlife transition to help individuals make the most of the midlife experience instead of trying to minimize it. Then the pain of transition may mingle with the promise of those rewards that further the processes of human development and evolution.

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CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF ADULT EDUCATION QUARTERLY

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Abstract: The twenty issues of Adult Education Quarterly (AEQ) published between 1986 and 1990 were critically analyzed to ascertain their ideological and philosophical positions. The editorial policy concerning its purpose, scope, and criteria for selection of articles was critiqued. The contents of articles were categorized and analyzed following a modified version of Long's content categories (Winter, 1983, Adult Education). The analysis has revealed that due to excessive reductionism, as evidenced by a heavy emphasis on quantitative approaches, and psychologistic perspectives, AEQ does not foster global understandings.

INTRODUCTION

To make clear the purpose and the assumption of this research, I would like to start by clarifying my understandings or philosophy of adult education. I contend that adult education is the facilitation of the development of **awareness** of oneself in the **world**. Awareness requires understandings of oneself and one's relations to others, societies and the world. Understandings cannot be static and space limited or isolated from contexts. They are dynamic, ongoing, and global, promoting the interrelationship of interdependent factors and views within the contexts, and the world. Awareness is the increment of understandings. Information that generally deals with the isolated, unrelated and decontextualized facts cannot facilitate these understandings.

Two questions can be raised concerning my understanding of adult education. The one is why "awareness in the world" is important to the field of adult education, and the other is whether my understanding of adult education shows any distinctive features of adult education that distinguish it from other disciplines or fields.

In response to the first questions, I claim that awareness is inherently constructive. Through developing or increasing awareness, we come to a self-identity, and recognize the significance or importance of self-dignity. This realization leads to the appreciation of other persons' dignity, views, and values. Rather than considering others from judgmental or discriminatory views or attitudes, awareness brings us to develop true appreciation of differences. To increase or advance awareness of oneself, we have to meet others and share our views. Therefore, awareness is inherently constructive in terms of facilitating meeting, sharing, and appreciating others and providing us with some understandings of the relations to others, to contexts, and to the world.

In response to the second question, I believe that adult education should be interdisciplinary for the reason that **awareness**, its goal, requires all forms of human experiences. In this sense, adult education cannot be totalized or limited or framed into one discipline. In other words, adult education is related and interconnected to every discipline. If there is any distinct feature of the field of adult education, it may be its interdisciplinary character.

Awareness requires understanding and understanding requires meeting, sharing, dialoguing with others. However, sharing or dialogue does not lead to "objectivity" or "neutrality" that is removed from human subjectivity or personal beliefs and experiences. Sharing and dialogue bring or foster collective subjectivities, that is to say, partial formulations (Polkinghorne, 1983 p. 97), which should be held tentatively. Therefore, there can be no neutrality or objectivity where the subject and object of investigation is the **human**.

Something is worthy of the label **Adult Education** only to the degree that it consciously seeks to promote subjective global understandings. The Adult Education Quarterly (AEQ) tacitly and ostensibly purports to be doing so. But does it? Does the AEQ foster global perspectives, not merely in terms of having proportionate geographic representations, but more importantly in terms of providing truly different viewpoints and ways of being in the world? Is the AEQ truly a forum for facilitating dialogue, recognition, and appreciation of differences and similarities among the peoples of the world, their views and perspectives, in order to promote awareness?

Previous analyses of AEQ have been essentially uncritical descriptions of the trends and patterns of the publication. Little attempt has been made to conduct critical analyses and to evaluate the knowledge production of AEQ in terms of its philosophical and ideological perspectives. This research attempts to do just that - to critically analyze the contents of AEQ between 1986 to 1990 in terms of ascertaining its ideological positions, and evaluating them in light of my philosophy of adult education.

PROCEDURE

In analyzing the twenty volumes of Adult Education Quarterly between 1986 - 1990, I have:

1) examined the written statements of AEQ concerning its purpose, its scope, and its criteria for selection of articles;

2) conducted content analyses; and

3) evaluated my findings on the basis of my philosophical assumptions of adult education.

Analyses were based on categories derived from the editorial policy of AEQ (Spring, 1989) and modified version of Long's content categories (Winter, 1983, Adult Education). In its editorial policy, AEQ separates "philosophical analyses" from "theoretical formulations" without demonstrating their constitutive distinctions, and I do not believe that they represent different realities; therefore, I have grouped them under one heading.

Table 1 is an overview of all the articles. Table 2 examines research articles based on empirically-oriented data. These articles were divided into three groups. Group 1 deals with experimental, quasi-experimental, descriptive research. Group 2 deals with ethnography, case study, and grounded theory. Group 3 deals with historical research. Table 3 examines articles based on critical and conceptual-oriented data.

1. EXAMINATION OF AEQ WRITTEN STATEMENTS

The Adult Education Quarterly (Spring, 1989) states that "Adult Education Quarterly is a referred journal committed to the dissemination of research and theory in adult and continuing education. The editors seek reports of research, **philosophical analyses**, **theoretical formulations**, interpretive reviews of the literature, book reviews, and forum essays. Manuscripts primarily concerned with the techniques of practice or with the **personal beliefs and experiences of the author** are not within the scope of this journal." (p. 1, emphasis added) In this description of Adult Education Quarterly, I raise one question: How can we separate personal beliefs and experiences from philosophical analyses and theoretical formulations? Then, in their editorial policy (p. 176), they describe forum essays as "personal, scholarly statements that seek to advance an understanding of the theory and practice of adult education." This is a contradiction in terms of excluding articles that are primarily concerned with personal beliefs and experiences but still including articles that are personal and scholarly statements. What is the difference between the two? How significantly different are they?

What seems to undergird this disclaimer is a crude epistemology framed by purely empiristic, behavioristic, and positivistic assumptions - that which is knowable must be operationalized, it must be observable and measurable. The result is an excessive reductionism which excludes and/or trivializes the contributions of personal beliefs and experiences to scholarly discourse. This disclaimer, which is merely a fallacious assertion to an objective reality removed from human subjectivity, exposes the illogic of the logic and the empiric bias of the AEQ.

This leads me to examine the criteria that are used in the review and selection process. Among other things, they specify that "articles must. . .significantly advance knowledge, theory, and/or practice...., [and] be accurate and technically sound" (p. 176). What counts for significance? By whose or what standards of accuracy are these articles measured? What does it mean to be technically sound? None of these meanings are self evident. They are just further evidence of the "objectivity/neutrality" biases of the journal.

These biases drive me to examine the statements of previous volumes of the journal concerning its purpose, scope and selection criteria. The purpose is the same regardless of different editors, that is, "the dissemination of research and theory." But the scope and the selection criteria vary with editorial staff. For example, the category dealing with research has been changed from **research** (1983) to **reports of empirical research** (1984) to **reports of research** (1989). **Formal philosophy** (1983) became **pertinent philosophical analyses** (1984) and **philosophical analyses** (1986); and **Comparative and historical studies** category disappeared by 1989. These changes are not just semantical; they reveal ideological differences among editorial staff regarding knowledge production and its worth.

2. CONTENT ANALYSES

TABLE 1 shows that in the period under consideration (1986-1990) there were equal numbers (49) in each of the three categories:

empirically-based articles, critically and conceptually-based articles, and book reviews. Excluding book reviews, 19 or 20 articles were reported. Within the empirically-based category, 65% of the research was quantitative.

Most empirically-oriented data-based research articles deal with the psychological dimensions of program planning, adult learning, instructional materials and methods. Research on gender issues was reported, but again mainly from psychological standpoints focusing primarily on such themes as motivation and perception. Very few dealt with philosophy, adult education as a field of study, or international perspectives (See Table 2).

Relative to empirically-oriented data-based-research reports, critically, conceptually-oriented data based articles place greater emphasis on adult education as a field of study, philosophy and ideology. But unlike the former, the views and issues of the latter were approached from sociological perspectives such as empowerment, emancipation, social equity and social justice, and they represent such diverse perspectives as constructionism, postmodernism, critical theory, and formulations that go beyond tribalism. Proportionately persons outside North America address adult education issues from sociological standpoints moreso than those inside (See Table 3).

TABLE 1

TYPES OF ARTICLES (AEQ CATEGORIES)

	86	87	88	89	90	Total		%
Reports of Research	13	7	12	7	10	49	49	33.3
Philosophical Analyses/ Theoretical Formulations	4	4	2	5	2	17		11.6
Interpretive Reviews of the Literature		3	2	4	5	13	49	8.8
Forum Essays	3	5	4	4	3	19		12.9
Book Reviews	6	14	12	9	7	49	49	33.3
Total	26	33	32	29	27	147		

3. EVALUATION

The psychological model - using variables such as motivation, perception, effective learning environments, etc., and the effects on the participation, non-participation, dropout rate, etc. - is deeply related to ideological positions that emphasize efficiency, prediction, and production. To increase production, deterrent factors must be identified, manipulated, and reduced to control for maximum predetermined outcomes. In other words, in order to maximize production, **causes** and their relationships to **effects** must be identified. This causal relationship requires reduction and simplification of complexities and interconnected situations.

This is the predominant approach promoted by AEQ, especially through reports of research. In these reports, not only does the AEQ shut out from its purview whole dimensions of the human personality, for example, the sociological and ideological dimensions, but the research accepted is dominated by a quantitative paradigm. The foregoing is exacerbated by the journal's penchant for "objectivity." This is evident not only from the disclaimer (already discussed) of the editorial policy, but also in the awkward manner in which **theory and practice** are distinguished, examined, articulated, and legitimated. **Practice** by and large is investigated and legitimated by **empirical research. Theory** on the other hand is articulated via **critical, conceptual inquiry**, for example, forum essays.

What undergirds this false dichotomy is a forced subjective/objective distinction. But the distinction between empirical and critical, conceptual is not that the former is objective and the latter is subjective. It is rather located in the means of validity. Empirical research is verified primarily through the senses, whereas critical, empirical research is verified primarily through reasoning. As long as the subject and object of inquiry is the human, such distinction is arbitrary, deceptive, and harmful. Objective research/practice does not exist. All practice, including empirical research, is rooted in human subjectivities replete with ideological and cultural biases. Furthermore, action and thought (research and theory) are inseparable, the one determining and being determined by the other. Only robots or automatons can engage in theory-free practice. And a practice-free theorist is nothing but a phantom, an apparition, engaging in fantasy. It is only through this dialectical relationship of thought and action (theory and practice) - praxis, that understandings can be achieved and global perspectives promoted. To do otherwise is to limit oneself to narrow, decontextualized, meaningless information.

TABLE 2

EMPIRICALLY-ORIENTED-DATA-BASED-RESEARCH

	Group 1					Group 2					Group 3						
	86	87	88	89	90	86	87	88	89	90	86	87	88	89	90		%
Adult Learning	2	1	1	1	1			1					1			8	16.32
Professional group Program	1					1										2	4.1
Program Planning & Admin.	2		5	2	4	1										14	28.6
Institutional Sponsor		1	1											1		3	6.12
Adult Educ. As Field/Study					1											1	2.04
Instructional Mat. & Methods	1			1	1	2	1		1							7	14.3
Philosophical												1				1	2.04
Program Area	1	2				2					1					6	12.2
Personal & Staff			1													1	2.04
International Perspectives					1											1	2.04
Gender			1				1	1	1					1		5	10.2
Total	6	6	8	4	8	6	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	1		49	

TABLE 3
CRITICAL, CONCEPTUAL ORIENTED INQUIRY ARTICLES

	Philosophical Analyses/ Theoretical Formulations					Interpretive Reviews of Lit.					Forum Essays					Total	%
	86	87	88	89	90	86	87	88	89	90	86	87	88	89	90		
Adult Learning		1	1	2		2		1			1	1	1	1	1	12	24.49
Program Planning & Admin.						1	1	1	1							4	8.16
Institutional Sponsor																	
Adult Educ. As Field/ Study	2			2	2			1	3		1					11	22.44
Instructional Mat. & Methods											1				1	2	4.08
Philo-sophical	1			1							2	3	1	1		8	16.32
Personal & Staff							1									1	2.04
International Perspect-ives	1		2			1										4	8.16
Gender																	
Evaluation																	
Ideological		1	1	1								2			1	6	12.2
Total	4	4	2	6	2	3	2	4	4		3	5	4	3	3	49	

CONCLUSION

The editorial policy and contents of AEQ are dominated by a crude behaviorism that neglects or trivializes the influence or significance of human subjectivity. Although the critical, conceptual articles contain a wider range of viewpoints, the journal as a whole, and the research reports in particular are heavily dominated by quantitative and psychological perspectives. AEQ attempts to frame the diverse areas of adult education into one dominant box rather than enlarge the discourse to encompass global perspectives. This excessive reductionism, psychologism, and determinism is inimical to the goal of adult education (as I define it), i.e., awareness.

Different research approaches such as participatory research, action research, and critical philosophical inquiry, should be developed to link or to related different ideological and philosophical theories in order to achieve truly global understandings among peoples of the world. This might help to overcome the "objectivity" bias of the journal.

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Lindeman and the Meaning of Adult Education*

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__Abstract__: This paper reports the results of an effort to develop an understanding of how Lindeman used the term "meaning" in his discussion of the meaning of adult education and what adult education may have "meant" for him. The research was designed specifically to determine (1) if The Meaning of Adult Education by Eduard Lindeman provides insights into his philosophical positions concerning education, (2) the degree to which individuals would agree on categories of descriptions of adult education as found in selected works of Eduard Lindeman, and (3) if the agreed upon categories are helpful in determining the meaning of adult education.

Contrary to the impression generated by Brookfield's (1987a) comments in reference to Stewart's (1987) criticism of Lindeman for failing to define adult education, it is suggested that The Meaning of Adult Education (Lindeman, 1989) was not designed to communicate definitions of adult education. Instead, it is a philosophical discussion that Lindeman used to try to better clarify the meaning (as in importance, outcomes, ends, etc.) of adult education to himself as well as to others (Davis, 1986/87).

Lindeman's writing style is such that The Meaning of Adult Education and other works reviewed in this study fail to clearly communicate the meaning of adult education for him. Nevertheless, it was conjectured that his various descriptions would suggest adult education's meaning. The logic of the argument is as follows: If what one determines to be meaningful or to have meaning is associated with one's philosophy and set of values, then descriptive comments concerning related phenomena would reflect said values.

Two different, but related research methodologies were used in the study. The first approach was phenomenological/linguistic in nature and focused initially upon The Meaning of Adult Education in order to determine the important philosophical positions expressed by Lindeman. The second phase included the review of 26 items written by Lindeman and included in Brookfield (1987 b). These sources were read for both philosophical expression and for descriptions of adult education. Some 138 descriptive statements were identified. They were subsequently presented to 53 judges to determine levels of agreement on categories of description. The judges generally agreed at a significant level with categories identified. Furthermore, these categories suggest that the meaningfulness of adult education, in Lindeman's framework, is found in descriptions that address the purposes of adult education, adult education as a means of addressing individual needs, adult education as a

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means for addressing social needs, characteristics that distinguish adult education and the methods of adult education.

Space does not permit a complete discussion of the research procedures; therefore, the following discussion is a highly summarized presentation of the research.

Analysis

The content of The Meaning of Adult Education reveals certain values that seemed to be important to Lindeman. Those values included the importance of joy and adventure in learning; the importance of individuality and the rejection of generalizations that demean the individual personality; the significance of the relationship between knowledge and personal power; the significance of freedom, self-expression, creative living, development of personal taste; involvement in evaluation of experience for the discovery of meaning, involvement in public affairs and desirability of functioning in collective enterprises.

The research problem required that the investigators determine how, and if, these values as found in The Meaning of Adult Education are communicated in various descriptive statements found in a range of Lindeman's articles and speeches. The following describes the procedures used to address the question.

Identification

Learning Democracy: Eduard Lindeman on Adult Education and Social Change (Brookfield, 1987b) was the primary source of Lindeman's writing. the book contains 26 items written by Lindeman and contains references to such others as The Meaning of Adult Education. After the items were read by one investigator, another went through the volume and marked all descriptive references to adult education. Each of the identified narrative statements was entered on a card without comment. As a result, 138 cards containing descriptions or definitions were obtained. The investigator then attempted to classify the items according to common characteristics: 17 categories were suggested. Next, the cards were given to three other members of the study team to reduce the categories, if possible.

Categories

Working independently and without consultation, each team member reviewed the 138 cards and organized them into descriptive categories according to perceived themes. The models for organization were constrained only by the intention to have as few categories as could contain all 138 cards, and by the necessity for the model to be reliably utilized by others.

Following the first iteration the team members presented their typology and demonstrated how each card fit into it. Opportunities were provided to modify categories and their supporting definitions. This process led to a jointly designed typology of five categories that appears to account for all the cards. The categories are:

1. Methods
2. Purposes
3. Needs of the individual
4. Needs of society
5. Characteristics

Each member was then asked to test the model by independently attempting to organize the cards into the five categories. When this was done, the team met and discussed their results. It was found that for 80 (58%) of the cards all three team members agreed on the category to which each should be assigned. For another 43 (31%) statements, two members agreed and for the remaining 15 (55%) cards, there was no agreement. The team then focused its attention on the 15 descriptive statements on which it has not reached agreement. It was determined that the problem was a definitional one. Therefore, it was decided to keep the same five categories, and to refine the definitions to more clearly differentiate methods as the "how" and purposes as the "why" of adult education.

Using the revised definitions each team member once again independently categorized the statements. The outcome of that iteration was agreement on 97 (70%) cards by all three members; and two agreed on the remaining 41 (30%) cards.

Finally, the definitions were further revised to include specific key words such as "procedures" and "aims," which often appear in Lindeman's statements, in an effort to help respondents differentiate among the categories. The resulting typology of categories and their definitions is as follows:

METHODS. Statements that direct attention to procedures, techniques, or practices that are appropriate to "how" teaching or learning is conducted in adult education. (N=13)

PURPOSES. Statements that include such terms as aims, mission, functions, goals, or objectives as they are applied to adult education. The "why" of adult education (N=36)

NEEDS OF THE INDIVIDUAL. Statements that describe ways that adult education contributes to improved quality of life or self-esteem for individuals. (N=4)

NEEDS OF SOCIETY. Statements that describe ways that adult education contributes to improved quality of life for large groups of people with a common cause or identity. (N=19)

CHARACTERISTICS. Statements that define what is, or is not, identified as adult education or a component thereof.

The statements were then categorized by three of the team members and an additional six graduate students. The outcome of this, the fifth iteration, was 6 (67%) or more of the reviewers agreed on 128 (92.75%) cards, and 5 (56%) agreed on 8 (5.79%) of the remaining ten cards.

In order to provide a more general test of the reliability of this model, 53 graduate students from six higher and adult education courses were asked to use the typology to judge which category best described the content of each of Lindeman's statements.

Analysis of the data

Thirty-six (68%) of the students returned usable response forms. The responses were then subjected to analysis using the Kolmogorov-Smirnov One Sample Test (Siegel, 1956) to compare (a) the frequency with which the respondents placed each statement in the category assigned by the research team, with (b) a theoretical chance distribution of responses. The critical value for D when the sample size is over 35 is equal to 1.36 divided by the square root of N at the .05 level of significance and is equal to 1.63 divided by the square root of N at the .01 level of significance. Hence, for a sample size of 36, D equals 42.67 at the .05 level and it equals 47.17 at the .01 level.

That is to say, there is a five per cent probability that an item on which 42.67% to 47.16% of the respondents agree can be accounted for by chance. Further, there is only a one percent probability that an item on which 47.17 percent or more of the respondents agree can be accounted for by chance.

One hundred and seven (77.54%) of the items had a D value of 47.17 or greater. An additional seven (5.07%) had a D value between 42.67 (0.05) and 47.16 (0.01). Therefore, agreement existed between the respondents' and the research team's classification on 82.61 percent (114) of the items. There is less than a five percent probability that such a response frequency could be accounted for by chance. Agreement with the research team's classification was the most frequent response for an additional 16 (11.59%) items; however, the frequency was not high enough to place D at the 0.5 level of significance. In only 6 (4.34%) cases was a statement assigned to a category other than the one selected by the investigators chosen frequently enough to be significant at the .05 level or higher.

Given the large number of items to be classified, the data were inspected to determine whether the effect of fatigue had influenced the outcome. It was found that of the 114 items for which D value was significant at the .05 level or higher, the distribution was such that 25 occurred in the first 25% (35 items), 27 in the next 25%, and 31 in each of the last two quarters of the responses. Although this finding made it possible to rule out fatigue, it gave rise to concern that there had been less agreement upon the early items for lack of insight or practice that developed as the respondents proceeded through the instrument. This finding suggests that some learning of the classification system occurred. As a result, greater agreement between respondents and investigators is noted in the final stages of the classification activity.

Discussion

The findings reveal that the meaningfulness of adult education to Lindeman can be derived from the inspection of his values and the way he described adult education. Thus, even though he never directly said that the "meaning of adult education is to be found in...." he provides enough information to suggest what was meaningful about it.

It is worth noting that of the five categories that frame his descriptive comments, three contain slightly different aspects of meaning. Category 1 - Purposes include the broader "why" of adult education. Category 2 - Needs of individuals and Society include descriptive statements that relate to the quality of life. Category 3 - Methods and Characteristics imply that the meaningfulness of adult education is at least in part to be derived from the methods and characteristics of the adult education enterprise. This is not inconsistent with his own comments concerning the relationship between means and ends in The Meaning of Adult Education.

We could anticipate that Lindeman would suggest that the ultimate meaning of adult education is determined by the interaction of the above categories. In other words, the meaning of adult education is to be discovered not only in the degree that adult education addresses the needs of individuals and society (as described in and inferred from6 The Meaning of Adult Education) but in the method as well.

Summary and Conclusions*

This research was designed to determine how Lindeman used the term meaning in The Meaning of Adult Education and to see if an analysis of his various descriptions of adult education would help to clarify the meaning of adult education for him. It is concluded that The Meaning of Adult Education suggests Lindeman's philosophical positions or values concerning education. It is also concluded that subjects can agree on the placement of Lindeman's descriptive comments concerning adult education into five categories. Finally, it appears that the five identified categories reveal what is significant or meaningful about adult education. The meaning of adult education for Lindeman, thus, is to be discovered in how well it met his value criteria.

Finally, the study results indicate that the meaningfulness of adult education for Lindeman was found in how well it contributed to individual freedom, individual self-expression, creative living, and involvement in public affairs and collective enterprises (to name a few criteria) in concert with certain methods. The methods must meet another set of criteria reported in various descriptions, e.g., "a process by which the adult learns to become aware of and evaluate his experience; ...materials and problems from experience itself:" and so forth.

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* References are available from the senior author on request.

DECONSTRUCTION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT: Deconstruction is a postmodern theory which challenges the basic assumptions of adult education. A critical analysis of deconstruction is undertaken by discussing two important aspects of the deconstructionists' challenge--deprivileging of logocentrism and textualization--and the implications of deconstruction for adult education are discussed.

INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE

Within the last 15 years postmodern theories have directly challenged the assumptions of the Enlightenment/Modernity, including the assumptions on which adult educational theory and practice are based. Postmodern theories have received little attention within adult education with the exceptions of Collard and Law (1990) and the Commission of Professors of Adult Education October 1990 Conference where the Critical Adult Educational Task Force organized a session entitled "Adult Education and Postmodern Thought."

This theoretical paper is written in anticipation that postmodern thought will find its way into adult education. While contributing to postmodern thought's entry into adult education, this paper is a critical analysis of deconstruction and its implications for adult education. Deconstruction is one movement within postmodern theory which calls into question the assumptions of modern educational theory and practice. This paper can be seen as part of a counter postmodern movement in the sense that Gramsci speaks a counter hegemonic movement (Williams, 1977).

THEORY AND METHOD

The paper is informed by critical theory which holds that theory involves a critical analysis of educational theories and practices with a practical intent. In other words, critical theory implies a link between theory and practice/politics. The data for this paper are a review of the relevant literature in postmodern theory, including deconstruction, and adult education.

RESULTS

One of several attacks on educational theory and practice, the Enlightenment, and the Western tradition, deconstruction is a postmodern movement that denies reason, denies the individual as subject and author, denies the validity of science, progress and humanism, and denies absolute truths, or for that matter, any claim to truth. Given the complexity of deconstruction, we will discuss two significant themes of denconstruction. The first theme is the deprivileging of logocentrism. Logocentrism refers to the primary or dominant position granted reason in Western thought where legitimate knowledge is equated with reason or what today we call science. The second theme is textualization, which is the reading of a text without reference to the author or outside factors. This means that the text, which also could be a social or educational practice, can be interpreted in a variety of ways.

DEPRIVILEGING OF LOGOCENTRISM

Jacques Derrida (1967), one of the leading thinkers of deconstruction, focuses his criticism of Western thought on the privileged or dominant status of logocentrism within the Western tradition. By deprivileging reason, deconstructionists seek to overthrow reason's or science's central place in Western thought and contemporary thought. From Derrida's (1967) perspective, Western thought contains a belief in progress and metaphysics which also needs to be overthrown or undone. Derrida (1967) sees metaphysics as symbolic systems of representations. These systems in turn are supported by standards, ideologies, and values which have a tendency to become absolute. These absolute standards, including such examples as "God the Idea, the World Spirit, and Self" (Sarup, 1989, p. 40) as well as "Man", are the organizing principle (s) on which Western thought is based. Absolute standards are derived also from other ideological constructs such as Democracy, Communism, Christianity, etc. The meanings contained in such ideologies are the source from which other meanings flow (Sarup, 1989). Deconstructionists are skeptical about the grounding of knowledge in any standards. Derrida sees these ideologies and other such foundations as "fictions" (an important concept which will be significant later) and argues that the "absolute standard," whatever it might be, actually contains binary opposites (Sarup, 1989), in which one is dominant over the other.

Binary opposites are seemingly opposed dualities organized in a hierarchy such as matter/spirit, body/soul, text/meaning, speech/writing, teacher/student and man/woman in which the former is privileged over the latter. Some deconstructors seek only to reverse the hierarchy, leaving the hierarchical structure unchanged (Norris, 1982). For example, in terms of teacher/student relations, if students replace teachers in the hierarchical structure--simply reversing the dualism--the structure of domination remains. Derrida, however, wants not only to reverse the hierarchies, but also to go further and show that they are not merely binary opposites. Rather, they are related to each other as contestory differences. In other words, the undoing of these hierarchies does not merely reverse the hierarchy thereby ending up with a new duality; instead, the binary dualisms are seen as differences, rather than opposites, but differences in contest with one another. For example, teacher and student are not opposing terms in a binary relation; instead they are different terms in contest with one another. From the point of view of deconstruction, these differences may give rise to new terms, but these new terms are unable to resolve the original conflict. Unlike dialectics, where there is resolution to the conflict, deconstructionists see no resolution, only perpetual contests of differences--differences without a difference.

Critical of the Western notion of conflict resolution, deconstructionists oppose any notion of dialectical closure or telos.

There are simply no absolute truths, no single meaning; everything is relative and contestory. In short, from the perspective of deconstructors, deconstruction is a permanent subversive strategy for undermining the logic of domination rooted in logocentrism, in that it strives for disunity, the undecidable, and the unreliable (Atkins, 1983).

TEXTUALIZATION

As part of the undoing of Western thought, deconstructors focus on the written text. For Derrida and other deconstructionists, the written text is autonomous from its author/producer as well as from the socio-historical conditions which influenced its writing in the first place. In other words, the written text is decontextualized. This absence of authors, whether they are living or dead, means that they cannot claim ownership to the text (Sturrock, 1979). In other words, the notion of ownership is meaningless. This method of reading the text opens up the text to a multiplicity of readings, a plurality of discourse (Norris, 1982).

That the text is examined without reference to the author or outside factors means that for deconstructionists, the text is examined or read internally. J. Hillis Miller (1984) states "as de Man makes clear . . . deconstruction is not something the reader does to the text. It is something the act of reading discovers that the *text* already does to itself" (p. 576, emphasis ours). This means that the author's intent--conscious or unconscious--as well as the socio-historical conditions of the time are irrelevant.

What meanings exist in the text are already there in the language; different readers will derive different and contestory meanings from within the text which results in a multiplicity of meanings with no one meaning being able to claim a privileged position as the authentic one. According to Paul de Man, in a deconstructive reading of a text, "There is no final authority" (Moynihan, 1984, p. 585). Some readings are more rigorous than others, but these rigorous readings are characterized by their unreliability; hence what decides a rigorous reading is undecidable (Norris, 1982).

Deconstructionists seek to detect disunity or the undecidable. In other words, each reading can be called into question. The original readings are reread, which, in turn, are turned into texts that are reread. This process, which is known as dissemination, continues *ad infinitum*. One final point needs to be made. Deconstructors view cultural phenomena and, by extension, educational practices as texts to be read and deconstructed through a reading of the margins. One result of reading educational theory and practice as a text is that boundaries are blurred between what is real and what is fiction. In fact, one can go as far as to suggest that, from the point of view of deconstruction, social life is a fiction.

IMPLICATIONS OF DECONSTRUCTION FOR ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education and practice are derived from and rooted in the ideals of the Enlightenment. While deconstructionists have not directly attacked adult education, the challenges raised against Enlightenment are also indirect challenges to adult education. Giroux (1988) writes:

> Educators . . . have shared a faith in those modernist ideals which stress the capacity of individuals to think critically, to exercise social responsibility, and to remake the world in the interest of the Enlightenment dream of reason and freedom (p. 5).

To its credit, deconstruction calls attention to the plurality of discourses or voices, particularly those voices which have been excluded or marginalized by logocentrism. Deconstructionists would undo the privilege status accorded to individualistic modes of thought (e.g. humanistic psychology) in adult education. They would seek to bring in other voices. In other words, deconstruction acknowledges the multiplicity of social realities. It does so, however, in the sense that these realities must be deconstructed, resulting in the blurring of boundaries between fiction and reality. The emphasis on otherness can result in a politics of difference (Giroux, 1988). Collard and Law (1990) are encouraged by "postmodernism's potential affirmation of a politics of difference . . ." (p. 58). The politics of deconstruction, however, are conservative at worst and affirmative of the status quo at best.

The political implications of deconstruction are conservative (Shaw, 1986) even if the language of deconstruction speaks of subversion. The political implications may be downright reactionary given the controversy surrounding the Nazi past of Paul de Man (Asher, 1989-90). Derrida has attempted to defend de Man from his critics and in so doing he denies de Man's past mistakes. For Derrida, de Man is a victim of Nazism in the same way Jews and other excluded others were victims (Asher, 1989-90; Wiener, 1989). In France, deconstruction has liberal implications (Frazer, 1984). Derrida, himself, does not speak to the political implications of his work. In talking about democracy he is silent (Wolin, 1990). In fact, Derrida seems to take a non-political position (Fraser, 1984). Actually, deconstructionists would seek to deconstruct the political.

In the United States, left Derrideans, such as Gayatri C. Spivak and Michael Ryan, have politicized deconstruction. Ryan (1982) has attempted to wed deconstruction to Marxism and he argues that deconstruction can help change society by carrying out a critique of ideologies, that is, by deconstructing all forms of thought. Ryan's position is untenable because, if the intent is to facilitate social change, then what has been deconstructed needs to reconstructed. There is no room for reconstruction in deconstruction.

As pointed out above, deconstruction is opposed to dialectical thinking and other notions of progress. While binary dualisms lead to contestory differences, for Marxists, binary dualism are contradictory terms which need to be transcended. To put the point another way, deconstructionists end up reaffirming the social order they seek to deconstruct. This is because:

> Once ideologies have been undone there is nothing left. There is no basis for deciding which ideologies are repressive and which are liberating. By extension, there is no basis for deciding what actions are liberating and what actions are repressive which implies that there are choices to be made (Melichar, 1988, p. 337).

However, for Derrida (1978), "the category of choice seems particularly trivial" (p. 293). For adult educators, choice is far from trivial!

Also, to its credit, deconstruction draws our attention to the fact that in modern society, there are no absolute truths, meanings or standards for judging knowledge or behavior. In point of fact, for deconstructionists there is no truth, meaning or standard. By undoing and deprivileging all forms of thought and judgment, deconstruction can lead to nihilism, a nihilism which offers no hope, only despair. In other words, the continuous process of deconstruction leads to nihilism in that all ways of knowing and judging are invalid, unreliable and undecidable. While it is justifiable to argue that there are no absolute standards and no absolute systems of meaning, the total rejection of any standards or meaning is unacceptable. How are we to decide whether such barbarous acts as the Holocaust, environmental destruction, and the exploitative nature of many social relations are moral or immoral? Or how do we judge de Man's past actions when in the early 1940s he wrote for a pro-Nazi magazine? From the point of view of deconstruction, the answer is that we cannot. This may be good news to deconstructors and the followers of de Man, but it is bad news for the rest of us, particularly adult educators and practitioners who are interested in individual and societal change. Multiple realities or pluralities of discourse do not have to be denied in order to develop standards for judging. At the very least a minimalist standard of rationality is needed (Hawkesworth, 1989).

> Keenly aware of the complexity of all knowledge claims, it [critical rational discourse] must defend the adoption of a minimalist standard of rationality that requires that belief be apportioned to evidence and that no assertion be immune from critical assessment (p. 556).

This means that the project of the Enlightenment on which adult education theory and practice are based needs to be defended and continued. While deconstruction may be a subversive attack on all forms of domination, some of which hinder the project of the Enlightenment, this subversive attack, however, is not subversive at all. Hoy (1989) writes:

> The practice of deconstruction appears to be subversive. But in reality it offers nothing to replace that which it destroys, and it suggests that nothing could serve as a replacement that could not be deconstructed and subverted in turn. So deconstruction is not even subversion, since subversion implies change, and

> deconstruction demurs from thinking about how things could be different, let alone better (p. 459).

From the point of view of critical theory, educational theory and practice should be directed toward the emancipatory society which is the actualization of the project of modernity. This implies a notion of progress, of reason, and of freedom, a world that is not yet, but can be. Sarup (1989) writes:

> I believe that it is important for people to support the Enlightenment project because education is closely connected with the notion of a change of consciousness; gaining a wider, deeper understanding of the world represents a change for the better. And this, in turn, implies some belief in a worthwhile future. Without this presupposition the education of people would be pointless (pp. 147-148).

In conclusion, adult educators should treat deconstruction with a great deal of critical skepticism for three reasons. From the point of view of adult education, (1) adult educators and learners are subjects, or knowledgeable actors (Giddens, 1982); (2) adult learners and educators seek to give meaning to their activities; and (3) adult learners and educators seek to bring about individual and social change (Darkenwald and Merriam, 1982).

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LEARNING FROM LIFE EXPERIENCE: WHAT MAKES IT SIGNIFICANT?

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Abstract: Findings from a qualitative study suggest that for learning to be significant it must 1) personally affect the learner, and 2) be subjectively valued by the learner.

Background of the Study

It is commonly understood that learning is central to human behavior, and that life itself presents never-ending opportunities for learning. Whether a particular life experience leads to learning in adulthood seems dependent upon an individual's orientation to the event at that point in time. Likewise, the impact or significance that a particular experience has for a person varies from individual to individual. And while we know quite a bit about who participates in adult learning activities, why adults learn, what they learn, and how adults differ from children, we know almost nothing about what makes certain learning events more significant than others. It is this question of what makes learning significant that is the focus of our study.

The relationship between life experience and learning is at once intriguing and complex. Over 50 years ago Dewey (1938, p. 12) examined the "organic connection between education and personal experience" (p. 12). Experiences that educate lead to the growth of further and richer experiences, and they must be connected meaningfully to other experiences.

A number of educators and psychologists since Dewey have attempted to map the relationships between life experience and learning. Two models in particular appeal to adult educators because of their application to adult learning. The first is proposed by Kolb (1984), who understands learning in terms of the engagement of personal experience, and who sees adult learning as being intrinsically connected to problem-solving. For Kolb, learning is "the process whereby knowledge is created . . . from the combination of grasping experience and transforming it" (1984, p. 41). The second model is proposed by Jarvis (1987), who writes that "life is about experience; wherever there is life there are potential learning experiences" (p. 164). Jarvis argues that learning occurs only when the experience fails to fit into our previous understanding of the world, commonly referred to as our personal meaning system. If the experience is congruous with previous experiences, no questions are posed and no learning results. Neither does learning occur if the disjuncture or gap between the experience and one's meaning system is too great.

It is research into the changes in how meaning is structured, however, which gives us some insight into the process of life experience learning. Kegan (1982), for example, observes that being human involves rendering experience coherent or meaningful. Daloz (1986) makes a similar argument, noting that the process of learning involves "taking apart and putting together the structures that give our lives meaning" (p. 236).

Perhaps the most developed theory explaining how experience, learning and meaning are related can be found in Mezirow's notion of perspective transformation. Perspective transformation is defined as "the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our presuppositions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; of reformulating these assumptions to permit a more inclusive, discriminating, permeable, and integrative perspective; and of making decisions or otherwise acting upon these new understandings" (1990, p. 14). Occurring either suddenly or gradually, this process is triggered by certain life experiences that challenge an individual's current meaning system and result in a change or restructuring of that system. Mezirow in fact defines learning as "the process of making a new or revised interpretation of the meaning of an experience" (p. 1). He does not address the varying degrees of impact a particular learning experience might have upon a person; however, it would seem that if the learning resulted in what he calls a perspective transformation, it would indeed be considered significant.

While several have written about the connection between life experience, learning, and meaning-making, there is little in the literature that explicitly deals with what turns a particular life experience into a significant learning experience for one person, but not another. Our study thus focuses on uncovering what makes learning significant. We assumed that all life experiences, including formal education, hold the potential for learning; that the same life event, whether it be birth of a child, job change, or taking a class, may result in significant learning for one person but not another, and that the judgment of what is significant is personal and subjective. Also important to this study is our understanding of learning as involving attending to and reflecting upon an experience which results in some present or future change in one's behavior, knowledge, attitude, beliefs or skills.

Methodology

This study is part of a larger research project investigating patterns of work, love, and learning in adult life (Merriam and Clark, in press). Since we were interested in understanding the connection between life experience and significant learning, an exploratory, qualitative research design was chosen as the most appropriate means of investigating this phenomenon.

Data were collected in two ways for this study. As part of the larger research project, an open-ended instrument was developed and distributed through faculty colleagues in adult education to over 400 adults in graduate and continuing education programs in North America. The learning component of the instrument (which provides the data for this study) asked respondents to identify "formal, informal, or personal learning experiences that were especially meaningful, significant, or intense." They were asked to briefly describe the learning, indicate when it occurred, and discuss why it was significant for them. Below is a sample of typical responses.

Learning Experience	Significance
going to college	I can function away from Mom!
divorce	recognized my inner coping strengths
accepted supervisor's job	learned how to deal with people
death of mother	death is a reality in life; there is no utopic existence

In addition to the qualitative data from these instruments, nineteen in-depth interviews were conducted with adults selected from those who had completed the instrument and had volunteered to be interviewed. These interviews allowed the researchers to probe the learning experiences and the significance they held for the learner. All interviews were taped and transcribed.

The final sample consists of 405 adults ranging in age from 20 to 62 with the average age being 37.6 years. Of the total sample, 112 or 27.7% are men and 293 or 72.5% are women. The sample is predominately white (81%) and well educated (88% are college educated). Overall, in terms of gender, race, age, education and socioeconomic status, our sample reflects the typical participant in adult and continuing education. Nearly all of our participants were engaged in formal or informal learning, a factor we considered fortuitous in that they were able to identify and reflect upon their significant learning experiences.

Data Analysis

Data from the 405 instruments were analyzed using the constant comparative method of data analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). On the average, nearly four (3.9) significant learning experiences were listed by each of our participants. Over 1600 statements and phrases from the "Significance" column were compared with each other. Like responses were categorized together. For example, from the above list "I can function away from Mom" and "recognized inner coping strength" seemed to reflect self-development and independence and so were tentatively grouped together. "Learned how to deal with people" seemed more skill oriented and was thus put into another category. Data analysis involved constantly moving between the data and the categories, refining the categories until all of the significance statements could be categorized. Simultaneously, interview data were analyzed for insights into the process of learning from life experience, and for better understanding the emerging categorization of significance.

Findings

From an analysis of the significance data and the data gathered in our interviews, we were able to discern an inner structure of significance. We found that for a learning experience to be considered significant it 1) must personally affect the learner, and 2) be subjectively valued by the learner. By "personally affecting the learner," we mean that the experience results in an expansion of skills and abilities, sense of self, or life perspective, or it precipitates a transformation that involves the whole person. By "subjectively valued," we mean that the learner places a personal stamp on the experience and names its importance in his or her life. This component acknowledges the fact that some learning experiences may result in expansion of some dimension of the person but not in a way that is personally valued. An example might be a factory worker who learns how to perform a particular task on the job but who assigns no personal value to having that skill and therefore does not consider it significant.

Expansion

As noted above, a significant learning experience involves an expansion of skills and abilities, a sense of self, or life perspective. Many people valued a learning experience because it enlarged their skills and abilities in a particular area. A woman listed a job she had as significant because "it taught me to work with others." One of the younger women in our study spoke of being out on her own as valuable for teaching her "how to manage money."

The dimension we are calling sense of self relates to the impact of learning on the person's identity. The sense of self is expanded in two ways: either through development of greater independence and autonomy, or through the establishment of an increased sense of relatedness or connection. The movement towards independence was often noted in relation to separation from the family of origin or within the context of a committed relationship. Other sources for increased independence were work experiences and formal education.

An expanded sense of self was also expressed in terms of relatedness to others. Many spoke of the experience of marriage and family as significant because, as one man expressed it, "I'm no longer responsible for only myself, I'm responsible for other people." Parenting was a particularly powerful experience in this regard, expressed poignantly by one woman as the experience of being "totally needed and totally accepted."

The third dimension of expansion is life perspective, which could be a broadened philosophical understanding of life in general, or it could be more specific and localized. One woman, as an example of the first, learned from a particularly difficult family crisis that "things happen as they should and will work out." A more focused example of a broadened perspective was given by a man, reflecting on his divorce, who said, "married life is very complicated."

Transformation

Identifying a learning experience as significant can mean more than an expansion of skills, sense of self, or life perspective. A learning experience can also lead to a transformation of the whole person. The concepts of expansion and transformation are better understood not as discrete categories, but rather as positions on a continuum. The experience of expansion can be self-contained and specific, involving one dimension of the person's life and not resulting in change in other areas, or it can be an increment within a gradual transformation which involves the whole person. For example, one woman, reflecting on her divorce, notes that more than a relationship was changed: "The divorce was challenging a value system that I had been given since childhood, so what I was learning is that I didn't have to keep that value system, that I could make my own."

Frank, who had been career Air Force, discusses an experience he had which transformed his thinking:

> I was in the Wash. D.C. are during the May Day demonstrations [in 1970] . . . I saw armed military troops lining the bridges going into the city; my office overlooked Key Bridge. And that had a major impact on my perspective and my frame of reference . . . I was working in the aerospace industry. It wasn't long after that that I got out . . . and entered the insurance industry. A lot of that I think was due to my thinking differently about the value of my work. What good was it doing?

Summary and Discussion

All life experience--and we consider formal education as one of life's experiences--has the potential to be a significant learning experience. For learning to occur, the experience must be attended to and reflected on. Our data suggest that for a learning experience to be significant it must be subjectively valued and have an impact on the learner involving 1) an expansion of skills, sense of self, or life perspective, or 2) a transformation.

It is not surprising that, for a learning experience to be significant, the learner must be personally involved. Over forty years ago Rogers (1951) pointed out that "a person learns significantly only those things which he [or she] perceives as being involved in the maintenance of, or enhancement of, the structure of self" (p. 388). In our study we found that significant learning can indeed mean an expansion of some aspect of the self. Specifically, we found that there could be an expansion of one's skills and abilities such as "learning to get along with people," or "to use computers." Or it could be an expansion of one's self, either through becoming more independent or more connected; finally, expansion could be in terms of one's perspective on life. But significant learning can be more than an expansion of aspects of the self. It can mean a transformation of the meaning system itself. There is an obvious connection between expansion and transformation, for a greater and greater expansion of our thought can lead to a transformation of the meaning structure itself. This appears to be what Mezirow calls a perspective transformation which results in "more inclusive, discriminating, permeable, and integrative perspectives" (1990, p. 14). Both expansion and transformation lead to a greater capacity for dealing with subsequent life experiences.

In our data all the significant learning experiences identified were essentially growth enhancing. The learning may not always have been pleasant or easy, and in fact there may have been considerable pain that accompanied the experience. Most of the more sudden transformations that our interviewees reported occurred as a result of a particularly difficult, tragic or painful experience, such as death of a loved one. While all of the significant learning episodes in our data did seem to have a positive result in that the learner reported being better able to deal more effectively with life, it would seem that a significant learning experience might also constrict a person, leading to a perspective that is more rigid and less integrative of new experience. This would explain the development of the fanatic or, less dramatically, of someone who had withdrawn from others and become bitter and lonely. It would be interesting to investigate cases of learning that led to growth-restricting transformations and whether these are significant in ways similar to learning that is growth-enhancing.

In conclusion, we feel that this study of significant learning has given us some insights into the process of learning from life experience, as well as into what makes learning significant. We are struck by the uniqueness of the phenomenon in that the same life experience, a job promotion for example, if attended to and reflected on, leads to significant learning for one person and not another. At the same time we are able to extract the factors of subjective value and personal impact in terms of expansion or transformation from across hundreds of significant learning episodes--factors that speak to the commonality of human experience.

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SUBJECTS AS PARTNERS:
RESEARCH WITH WOMEN DISPLACED TEXTILE WORKERS.

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Abstract: This study examines the training decisions and experiences, and subsequent impacts on employment of a group of women textile workers. A collaborative approach involved the subjects of the study in its design and execution.

INTRODUCTION - THE ISSUES

There are few challenges in the 1990s to the idea that education is the route to a booming and competitive economy. The logic seems so powerful that it has the character of a myth, as anthropologists use the term, a sustaining myth that holds together many parts of society. As well as educators, many workers accept the myth, and blame themselves for their problems.

This study addresses the complex issue of education and training in a changing economy, and what happens when the myth is challenged. It examines the experiences of a group of women textile workers who lost their jobs in 1988 when their large jeans factory in Maryville, Tennessee closed down. Worker dislocation continues to be a significant problem, as corporations shift production facilities around the globe. Between 1979 and 1984, an estimated 11.5 million workers lost their jobs because of plant closings or layoffs (GAO, 1986).

About half of the women textile workers we studied enrolled in job training and basic skills classes offered under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) when the plant closed. Our original research interest was to see whether this retraining had significant impact on their subsequent employment experiences.

Relatively few studies have examined this question closely. Studies of plant closings have commonly looked at length of unemployment, wage losses and stress. Like Cochrane's (1986) study of women garment workers, these studies find that displaced workers suffer long periods of unemployment and significant wage losses, and that women, minorities and older workers are particularly hard-hit. Studies on the effect of age on the training decisions and experiences of dislocated workers suggest that older workers feel they would be unsuccessful in training classes, that retraining is not a worthwhile investment for them, and also that their perceptions of learning experiences differ (Bartholomew, 1987; Merriam, 1987; Smith and Price, 1988.) Studies which have looked at the outcomes of job retraining are reviewed in Leigh (1990.) Most have not focused on women workers, and have looked only at length of unemployment and wages, not other aspects of subsequent employment (that is, what kind of jobs.) Different interpretations of the same data give wildly varying results.

We share our study not only because it has some intriguing findings which do not precisely "fit" conventional wisdom, and which raise questions about the design of educational programs for a changing economy, but also because the process we used may be of interest to those searching for alternative models of research from an academic setting. In this study, the subjects of the research were also collaborators with us in defining the research questions, and carrying out the study. It is clear to all of us involved that the collaborative research process produced a much richer and more useful study than we could have conducted on our own.

THE COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH PROCESS

In a very conventional beginning, researchers at the Center for Literacy Studies, an inter-disciplinary research center at The University of Tennessee, Knoxville, defined some research questions which interested us. Does retraining and/or remedial basic skills education make significant differences to women's ability to get a new job, make a transition from a declining industrial sector to another which holds more promise for long-term employment, help them get a job which pays better, has better benefits, or which they like better? And do their prior education or other demographic factors make a difference in their decision to take part in training/education opportunities (in particular, do lower literacy levels inhibit their opportunities for advancement through job training)?

We began talking informally with women who had worked at the jeans factory a few months after the closing. As we talked, we found that this group of women was smart, feisty, thoughtful, as well as angry about what had happened to them. They had their own questions and their own perspectives on the closing and the training program. We asked a group of six women from the plant to meet with us to help us design the study. Short of time, with family obligations, they agreed to come to one meeting only. But at that one meeting they took an initiative and an interest in the study which they never lost. They became a formal Advisory Committee which met many times.

We developed a questionnaire in consultation with the Advisory Committee, and pilot tested it with other workers from the plant. Five members of the advisory committee became interviewers in the study, underwent two training sessions, and carried out a majority of the interviews. The Advisory Committee worked with us to reach conclusions from the data analyzed, and to make recommendations for programmatic change.

It very quickly became clear to all of us that the participation of the Advisory Committee in the study made it a better study. Our simple research questions became more complex and subtle. They made us look at women's perceptions of the options open to them at the time the plant closed, at the effects of the stress and distress of the closing itself on their perceptions and their ability to make choices. They made us think about the community context in which they lived and tried to work. And they made us look at the costs these women paid.

The collaborative research process extended beyond the Advisory Committee to two activist organizations with interests in displaced workers, women workers and retraining issues. From the beginning, we discussed the study with the newly formed Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network, a coalition of community, church and labor groups working on economic policy issues. And, as we sought funding to carry out the main survey, we found that the Southwest Women's Employment Coalition (SWEC) was planning research on the impact of JTPA programs on women in the South. We teamed up with SWEC to conduct our study as one of a series of case studies which they funded. The collaboration with these two organizations has significant implications for the use of the study findings, since both are actively involved in efforts to change policies and programs relating to workers.

Since the 1960's some social science researchers have searched for alternative approaches to positivist traditions. Mainstream research methodologies in the social sciences have attempted to apply the standards of objectivity as well as the methods of the natural sciences, to separate researcher from subject, and to value "expert" knowledge over that held by those who have the experiences being studied. Criticism of this positivist tradition has come from Marxists, feminists, critical theorists and others, yet many of the critics wish to combine an approach to research which avoids the mainstream commitment to domination and social control, and which values experience-based knowledge, while yet retaining positivist ideals of critical, rigorous and open-minded inquiry.

Action research and participatory research traditions both place importance on collaborative forms of inquiry. In participatory research, for example, "the researchers and the researched cooperate in a joint process of critically understanding and changing the social situation, so as to improve people's daily lives, empower them and demystify research." (Cancian and Armstead, 1990 p. 1.) In action research the empowerment and demystification aspects have not been stressed, but collaborative research methods have still been seen as producing better results (Brown and Tandon, 1983 p. 285-6).

As Cancian and Armstead argue, participatory research allows for a range in the degree of participation and control by the community over the research process. In this case, the Advisory Committee has had a considerable degree of influence over the research design and conduct of the study, as well as conclusions and recommendations of the report, but they did not have full control. Ultimately in an academic setting, control and accountability rest primarily within the university rather than an outside body. Rather than engage in a debate about whether this study is or is not "real" participatory research, we stress that the collaborative methods used are entirely possible to others working in academic settings, and have produced richer and fuller research than a conventional study would have produced.

FINDINGS - TRAINING AND JOBS

We interviewed 100 women, selected at random from the 873 women listed as working at the plant at the time of closing. The average age of our sample was 41, over half being mid-thirties to mid-fifties. They had worked an average of 14 years at the jeans factory, ranging from a few months to 27 years. Education levels were consistent with those for the community: 54% had graduated high school, while 16% had no high school education. Of those who had not graduated from high school, 9 obtained their GED before the plant closed.

21 of the eligible 37 women enrolled in GED/literacy classes after the plant closed. Thirteen had passed the GED test at the time of the survey, and 12 of these had gone on to enroll in job training classes. Including those who first took their GED, 41 women enrolled in JTPA job training classes. These were offered by several JTPA sub-contractors, including a community college and two vocational schools. Most training programs were short, ten-week classes (three quarters of those who trained were in a program of less than three months duration). Most were in office skills and industrial uses of computers, a few in LPN.

Impact on jobs

At the time of the survey, some twenty months after the closing, there was no significant difference in employment status between the groups which did and did not participate in training. About half of both groups had a full-time job, 6% a part-time job and 16-18% were unemployed. Others were still in school (either in the JTPA or an independent program), retired or disabled.

Types of jobs: Job training did make some difference to the pattern of new employment: Of those who took part in job training programs and had held a job since the plant closed, more had been able to move out of production jobs than was the case for those who did not train. However, a third of those who trained remained in production jobs (compared with 61% of those who did not train). It appears that GED classes alone made little difference to employment patterns, despite the fact that many took part in subsequent job training. Almost two-thirds of women who enrolled in GED classes, like those who did not train at all, remained in production jobs.

Wages: Our study confirmed what earlier plant closing studies have found: A large majority lost wages when we compared their last wage before the plant closing to the wages of their first job after the closing. Average wages dropped by 24%, but 44% experienced wage losses of 40% or more, and a quarter experienced wage losses of 60% or more. Although not statistically significant, it does appear that, on the whole, those who enrolled in job training, and especially the GED, were more likely to maintain the same wage level, or to lose less than those who did not.

More than a third of those who trained went into office jobs, which were almost all in the $4.00-6.99 wage range -- less than the average pre-closure wage. Despite their substantial investment of time and energy in job training to make a transition out of the factory, they earned about what other sewing jobs in the area paid, and for the most part had similar lack of benefits (67% lacked employer-paid health insurance, 89% lacked union representation).

Job satisfaction: There are some significant differences in terms of how much people liked their new job in comparison to the old one. Of the total sample, just over half (53%) liked their new job less than their old one; 14% liked it the same and 31% liked it more. Those who went into other sewing jobs (excluding those who worked for the same company in a different plant) were most likely to dislike their new job. Training, or perhaps moving into another type of job, seems to have improved job satisfaction for many: half of those who trained or took GED classes liked their new job *more* than the old, while 69% of those who did not train liked their new job *less* than the old.

Value of training: We asked those who had enrolled in job training and had held a job since the plant closing, whether they felt that their training had been helpful to them in their new job. Twenty-six women responded: 54% of them (14 women) said training had not been helpful.

Our study suggests that the type and length of training and the local job market make appreciable differences to its impact on future employment. As we expected, those who enrolled in a single short-term (ten week) training program showed fewer gains than those who took part in longer programs: they were more likely to be unemployed, more likely not to change careers.

For many of the women who went through training, the myth had been challenged, because the gains were not what they had expected. Women who had been through the training program were more pessimistic about the value of training in getting and keeping a new job than those who did not train. Fourteen percent of those who trained said "there are no jobs -- training doesn't help," and another 12% said "you need more/better on-the-job training" in order to get a job. In contrast, those who had not taken job training tended to blame themselves, or their lack of training, for the difficulties they experienced in the local job market: 23% said "you have to have training for any job."

Experiences with closure and training

As the women in the study looked back on their experiences, some felt good about the opportunities offered them, but others felt the program had not served them well. At a time when they felt their identity and independence were threatened, when they were scared about a future without a secure job, apprehensive about having to try something new, grieving for lost friends and in shock, many of the women we interviewed felt they had needs which the program did not meet.

Only a handful received individual counseling from JTPA staff -- most got their information about options available to them in large meetings of several hundred people. It is perhaps not surprising that 63% said they did not understand all of the options offered by JTPA, and 53% felt they had not had enough time to make a decision about the programs on offer. They were given only limited options -- train in office skills, business computers or (for the few) LPN; train for 26 weeks with unemployment pay, then you are on your own. And they were told they had to make up their minds quickly, in the week after the plant closed, or all options would lapse.

Worst of all, they felt they were often treated with contempt. The women were good workers, they had long tenure in their jobs, had been making good production and good pay. But the feeling expressed by one woman was widely shared: "The unemployment office staff treated us like dirt, like they were doing us a favor." Another said: "They acted like we closed the plant to spite them."

CONCLUSIONS

Training and remedial basic skills education did make some differences for some people in their employment experiences. While it apparently did not affect their ability to get a job, it did open a wider range of options, at least for some (although a substantial minority of those who trained ended up back in manufacturing). Either the training or the change in job did affect how much people liked their new job compared with their old one; more of those who trained liked the new job better. Training may also have had some effect on wage loss, although not statistically significant.

While job training does appear to have "worked" to the extent of opening up a more diverse set of job options for at least some women, its impact on other aspects of employment are less striking. Our research suggests the training is not an automatic panacea. Training was not a ticket to better paying jobs for most women, it did not enable all to change to a new career, and almost half of those who trained did not like their new job any better than their old.

The study suggests that the JTPA retraining program failed most of the women in several ways. Without a job market survey on which to base training options, the program may not have trained women for the largest growth sectors in the local economy. The courses offered were conventionally gender-defined: office skills, health-care, computers. The training courses were short-term, usually ten weeks, and were not enough to enable most to make major job changes. There was no individual counseling to help them plan a training path that could lead to a job.

Was a great opportunity lost? An opportunity to enable productive workers to make a successful transition between jobs and industrial sectors, an opportunity to develop the skills of the workforce, an opportunity to remedy the low levels of formal education of some of the workers? Can we sustain the myth about the value of education, but assert that it needs to be more carefully planned? Or is the reality of the job market in our area such that women displaced from manufacturing jobs will inevitably have difficulty in finding good new jobs? Are they caught in structural forces beyond their control?

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Does Inservice Training Really Make A Difference in Adult Educators' Knowledge and Attitudes Related to Principles of Adult Teaching and Learning?

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Abstract: Results of a quasi-experimental research study indicated that participation by extension educators in a two-day inservice training session improved participants' attitudes and knowledge related to principles of adult teaching and learning. Both attitude and knowledge increased regardless of the participant's previous training in adult education, tenure as an extension educator, position with the organization, specialty area, or educational level.

INTRODUCTION

The Cooperative Extension Service has been called the world's largest adult education organization (Prawl, Medlin, and Gross, 1984), yet traditionally, the majority of its "teachers" have not been trained in androgogy but instead have their degrees in a technical agriculture or human ecology area (Norland, Seevers, and Smith, 1990). The Ohio Cooperative Extension Service (OCES) is no exception; 1989 employment figures illustrate this point. Of the 400-plus county, district and state faculty who were employed as of April 1, 1989, the breakdown of college degrees possessed by OCES faculty related to technical (agriculture or human ecology) versus education (pedagogy or androgogy) was two to one for B.S./M.S. degrees and four to one for Ph.D. degrees (OCES Detailed Employee Record, 3/29/89).

The situation of extension teachers possessing a high level of technical skills and low to no androgogical skills at the time of hire is compounded by the fact that inservice training for faculty is concentrated most often around technical competencies and not teaching skills (Smith, 1989), and in fact, during the time period of 1984-1989, no specific inservice training was conducted on the topic of teaching and learning (Smith, 1989).

A problem becomes apparent when comparing the current situation described above with a major goal of the Cooperative Extension Service, as proposed by Van Tilburg and Smith (1989):

> "Extension should promote a major, continuing mode of adult behavior aimed at self-directed growth using organized and sequential learning experiences designed to meet the needs of adults. Incorporated into these experiences is the opportunity for adults to understand themselves in relationship to their immediate world as well as to the extended, acquiring new skills and powers to not only function but flourish. The Extension method of adult education recognizes the difference between adult learning and adult education and provides the vehicle with which to link one with the other" (Van Tilburg & Smith, 1989).

Inherent in his goal of the Extension mission is the assumption that Extension educators know and understand how to accomplish this goal; that they possess the knowledge and skills needed to anticipate and recognize adult needs and direct learning activities to adequately address those needs.

BACKGROUND FOR THE STUDY

To assess the extent to which OCES faculty did indeed possess those skills, a census study was conducted in January, 1990 using a mail questionnaire and telephone interviews. Results from 454 respondents indicated that faculty lacked basic knowledge of principles of adult education (averaging 50% on a knowledge instrument) and possessed only a neutral attitude toward adult education. Their teaching behavior was assessed using the PALS instrument (Conti, 1983); scores indicated a more teacher-centered rather than learner-centered orientation for most faculty (averaging more teacher-centered than the norm for the instrument).

Using this information, a two-day workshop was developed to address issues surrounding "Understanding and Teaching the Adult Learner." The inservice was offered to all OCES employees who worked with adults. There were 111 faculty and program staff who participated full time in the inservice, which was held at an Ohio State Park, a setting which provided an informal, relaxed, retreat environment for the training program. Individuals participating had the opportunity to experience a variety of teaching techniques and methods including case study, experiential discovery, small group and reflective art. Resource persons from The Ohio State University and other institutions addressed such topics as adult characteristics, teaching style, learning style, learning environment, and teaching methods.

PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study was to assess the impact of the two-day workshop on participants' knowledge and attitude. Specific objectives of the study included:

1. To assess the impact of a two-day educational workshop on participants' knowledge and attitude.

2. To assess variances in impact on participants' knowledge and attitude based on their previous training in adult education, tenure as an extension educator, gender, position with the organization, specialty area, and educational level.

PROCEDURES

A pretest/posttest non-equivalent control group design, employing analysis of covariance, allowed for the assessment of differences between participants and non-participants on their post-test attitude and knowledge scores by adjusting for differences in pretest scores.

Of the 454 individuals who completed the pretest questionnaire, 111 attended the two-day inservice training program in May, 1990. Then posttest data were collected on-site from those individuals participating in the inservice program (final response rate was 94%). The same questionnaire used for the pretest was administered. A control group of 175 individuals who had completed the pretest but had not attended the inservice was selected to represent, as closely as possible, the experimental group by using a random stratified (by position) sample. Data were collected through the mail from the control group. One follow-up mailing was conducted to address non-response of the control group and the final response rate was 91%.

The instrumentation used for the pretest/posttest was tested for content validity using a panel of experts and a field test of individuals similar to the population. Reliability was determined during a pilot test using a similar group to the population (KR20 for the knowledge test = .72; Cronbach alpha for the Likert-type attitude scale = .69).

RESULTS

To assess the impact on participants' knowledge and attitude, analysis of convariance was used, allowing the pretest score to be the covariate. Illustrated in Table 1 and Table 2, even though the treatment group scored higher on both pretest measures than the control group (as expected), GROUP still accounted for a statistically significant amount of variance in the dependent variable (posttest score), with the treatment group scoring higher on both measures than the control group.

TABLE 1 Analysis of Covariance of Posttest Mean Attitude Score by Group with Pretest Mean Attitude Score as Covariate

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	p
Covariates	7.213	1	7.213	95.739	.000
(ATTITUDE PRETEST)	7.213	1	7.213	95.739	.000
Main Effects	.385	1	.385	5.115	.025
(GROUP)	.385	1	.385	5.115	.025
Explained	7.599	2	3.799	50.427	.000
Residual	17.630	234	.075		
Total	25.229	236	.107		

Additional analysis assessing differences in posttest scores based on previous training in adult education, tenure as an extension educator, gender, position with the organization, specialty area, and educational level indicated no statistically significant main effects for any variables.

TABLE 2 Analysis of Covariance of Posttest Score on Test of Knowledge by Group with Pretest Score on Test of Knowledge as Covariate

Source of Variation	Sum of Squares	DF	Mean Square	F	p
Covariates	58.503	1	58.503	31.139	.000
(KNOWLEDGE PRETEST)	58.503	1	58.503	31.139	.000
Main Effects	11.920	1	11.920	6.345	.012
(GROUP)	11.920	1	11.920	6.345	.012
Explained	70.423	2	35.211	18.742	.000
Residual	545.750	253	1.879		
Total	545.750	225	2.140		

DISCUSSION

The business of Cooperative Extension Service (CES) personnel is teaching, and most of that teaching is of adults. Trends in hiring have fluctuated from requiring technical degrees with high amounts of technical course work to seeking out individuals with more diverse educational backgrounds. Regardless of formal training required at the time of hire, individuals 'doing' CES work are 'doing' adult education. Literature suggests that, when applied, the principles of adult learning can improve adult students' capacities for learning; however, teachers can only apply these principles if they (1) believe they are adult educators and (2) know and practice adult learning principles. This study was conducted to assess the potential of an intervention strategy to impact upon attitude and knowledge of OCES faculty and staff.

Findings indicated that, indeed, attitude and knowledge could be improved through participation in a short but well-designed educational inservice opportunity. Possible explanations of the success may be found in the reactions of the participants. At the conclusion of the inservice training, participants were asked to complete a one-page questionnaire to assess reactions to the program. Individuals were asked to respond to seven statements regarding their feelings and reactions to the workshop instruction, location, their roles as teachers, the usefulness of the workshop content to their jobs and their intent to use and share the information learned, as well as an assessment of the written materials provided.

A five-point Likert-type scale (1 = Low and 5 = High) was used. The average rating was 4.02, indicating that, overall, participants felt positively about the experience. Comments and reactions made by participants on the questionnaire supported this posture. One individual stated: "I left this conference with very positive feelings and intend to make changes to improve my teaching skills." Support for the belief that the information provided was useful to non-faculty or administrative staff can be concluded from comments such as: "Thank you for extending the invitation for this program event directly to Program Assistants. As the coordinator of a grant program, this information definitely applies and will be used to strengthen my teaching with adults." Statements by several individuals indicated, overall, a very positive reaction to the speakers, the content, the approach, and the retreat setting.

SUMMARY

"Can inservice training really make an impact on knowledge and attitude?" This study's results indicate "Yes." The researchers' best guess at how and why a two-day inservice training had such a uniform, positive impact on a diverse group of 'teachers' would be that this educational opportunity addressed a severe gap between what skills they had and what skills they needed on a daily basis. In other words, they had no where to 'go' but up and the distance between where they were, as teachers, and where they wished to be was huge. Another thought about success: Many of the individuals who participated had never thought of themselves as adult educators. The invitation to an inservice for adult educators and their subsequent participation planted the seed for future growth in a 'brand new' profession--one which they practice every day.

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A PHENOMENOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF SELF-WILL AND THE RELATIONSHIP TO ACHIEVEMENT IN AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN

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Abstract: Adult education programs operating in the African-American community will benefit from understanding the importance of the relationships and experiences which develop the will to achieve.

Introduction

The African-American woman has struggled against innumerable odds since slavery. With barriers of social and economic deprivation, sexism, and racism providing constant barriers in the road to success and personal happiness, it is indeed quite remarkable that American history is so full of rich examples of Black women who have defied these odds. The strength of the Black woman has long been celebrated. In the words of Maya Angelou (1989), "Black women...have lived through conditions of cruelties so horrible, so bizarre, the women had to re-invent themselves."

Yet we cannot take for granted this inner strength found in so many Black women. This is especially true in light of the many problems now facing the Black community. Particularly in urban areas where poverty, crime, drugs, and gang activity have turned neighborhoods into virtual war zones, it is important to search for a deeper understanding of the development of the will among African-Americans; the will to survive, the will to struggle, the will to resist the forces of oppression and to develop what Maxine Greene calls "a space for freedom"; freedom meaning the ability to alter situations by reinterpreting them and, by so doing, seeing oneself as a person in a new perspective (1988, p. 90). As the strong Black woman is crucial to the maintenance of a healthy and vital Black community, it is important that we understand the complexity of her situation, and how she can be encouraged to prosper and flourish regardless of her immediate circumstances.

For adult educators who today often work with African-American women as they return to school via adult education programs, literacy programs, and job training programs, it is important that we find answers to some key questions related to their development. As we begin to understand better the kinds of experiences that are most important in the development of the strong, Black female, we can then begin to incorporate these experiences into educational programs. As more and more African-American women reach out to us, we can be better prepared to reach back and seize upon this opportunity to revive the will.

Methodology

Phenomenology is a process which allows the researcher to focus on a phenomenon as it emerges in the consciousness of the individual. All notions of causality are put aside as well as any presuppositions the researcher might bring to the study. Martin Heidegger (1962, p. 58) defines phenomenology as a "combination of phenomenon and logos...which formulated from the Greek means to let that which shows itself be seen from itself in the very way in which it shows itself from itself." Or simply, phenomenology means, "To the things themselves!"

The phenomenological method calls for the researcher to describe and intuit a specific phenomenon and, in the process, to increasingly focus on the essential characteristics or essences of the phenomenon (Spiegelburg, 1982). As the researcher continues this phase of describing and intuiting the phenomenon, he/she begins to look for patterns in the appearance of the phenomenon as its meaning unfolds in consciousness. Themes or essential structures can then be established. The most important thing to remember is that the phenomenologist scrutinizes everything. No recollection of experience or shade of meaning is deemed unimportant.

The final stage of the seven step approach outlined by Spiegelburg is the hermeneutic or interpretive stage. While not all phenomenologists follow through with interpretation, this study makes broad use of hermeneutics. Hermeneutical interpretation is very much a part of the African-American tradition (Smith 1983). African-American preachers and storytellers have often relied on their gifts of interpretation to make "live" the Word in their congregations and followings. According to Mitchell (1970, 1979), hermeneutics, to Black preachers, is a code word for putting the gospel on a "tell it like it is, nitty-gritty basis."

Data Collection

The data for this study were derived from two sources. Life stories were collected from thirty Black women ages twenty-five through ninety-five who have exhibited the qualities of determination and courage. From these thirty the fifteen most exemplary stories were chosen for further analysis.

At the same time the literature of four contemporary African-American female novelists was reviewed. The novel has long been an important vehicle for expression in the Black community. Mary Helen Washington (1980) writes:

> "When black women told the stories about their real lives and actual experiences, they proved the power of art to demolish stereotypes; and if power is the ability to name one's own experience...a first step toward power, for it celebrated the legends of black women, weaved dreams into myths that allowed us to recover and name our own past."

Important themes emerge as one takes a closer look at the development of the heroines that come to life in these writings; for Black female authors often create heroines who are composites of all the significant women and experiences in their lives. Alice Walker, Toni Morrison, Maya Angelou, and Zora Neale Hurston were chosen as the novelist to be studied. These four were selected for their diverse writing styles and because combined they cover a broad spectrum of themes and relationships.

From the novels, themes of will were first extrapolated then compared with those revealed in the personal interviews. While a total of eight themes were found to be of some significance in the writings, only four of the themes matched those that were most expressed in the interviews. Follow up interviews suggest that while some of the women may have had experiences similar to those of the fictional characters, they did not place the same importance on these events and felt that the authors may have dramatized some things for the sake of their readers. The four remaining themes or essential structures were then further described in keeping with the phenomenological approach.

Findings and Discussion

The four themes which represent the essential structures in the development of will of African-American women are: Mothers and Daughters--the Role of The Matriarch; Extended Sisterly and Familial Relationships; Heightened Spiritual Development; and Black Community Connectedness. It is interesting to note that at least two of these themes have been used to explain the pathology of the Black family (Moynihan, 1965 Moyers, 1986). However, in no case did this research reveal that female-headed households or extended family relationships created a problem.

Mothers and Daughters

"I am a strong, Black woman because I was raised by a strong, Black woman." Statements like this one were typical of the interview conducted for this research. Of the fifteen women whose life stories make up this research, eleven emphasized the role their mother played in their upbringing. Even more interesting is the fact that in three instances the father was present in the home and was considered the "head of household," but still it was the mother who dominated the household.

The fact that mothers are so influential in the upbringing of their daughters is not significant in and of itself. What is significant is the fact that the Black women interviewed felt that their mothers "made" them what they are today. They continually draw strength from their relationships with their mothers. They learned to be creative; "When my mother wanted something she found a way. She did not wait around for a man to do for her, she rolled up her sleeves and went to it."

Mothers very often passed on heavy responsibilities to their daughters very early in life. It was not unusual to hear women say that they had to cook all the meals, or that they were responsible for the cleaning and care of small children at the age of 8 or 10. The girls were brought into the fold of women and taught to model the behavior and activities around them. Often girls were allowed to be present as the mother talked with sisters or friends.

There is an old adage, "Black mothers raise their daughters and love their sons," which alludes to the extra responsibilities Black mothers pass on to their daughters. This theme is also reflected in the literature. Zora Neale Hurston (1942, p. 58) wrote how her mother on her deathbed prepared her for the struggles she was to have and challenged her to always "jump at de sun." Maya Angelou (1974, p. 24) maintained a close relationship with her mother, Vivian Baxter, and grandmother, "Momma", who "had no patience with weakness and contempt for losers." As a result the young Maya did not stay down very long.

Black Women as Sisters

In the novel Sula (1973), Toni Morrison very skillfully paints the picture of a relationship that goes sour. The friendship between Sula Peace and Nel Wright is a complicated one. The important thing about this friendship, however, was the fact that neither woman could really live without it. When the two women separate Sula loses the only real relationship she ever had and as a result is consumed with evil and rots away. Nel develops a "puff" in the back of her eye which only bursts when her friend, Sula, dies. At the end of the novel Nel realizes what she lost and she moans and cries for the friend she felt wronged her. Her exclamation, "We was girls together...O Lord, Sula" (p. 174), sums up her feelings of deep loss.

Alice Walker also writes of the importance of friendship for the African-American woman. The Color Purple (1982) centers on the relationships of women. The main character, Celie, is helpless and abused until she meets Shug Avery, her husband's mistress. The two women become friends and the strength of that friendship enables Celie to grow. Even broader kinship/friendship ties are developed among the females as the characters of Sofia and Mary Agnes "Squeak" are developed.

Eight of the women interviewed also spoke of broad friendship/kinship relationships with other women. Several of the women were raised in an environment where their mothers' friends or play aunts played very substantial roles in their upbringing. These women felt these relationships took much of the stress of child raising off of their mothers and have developed similar networks of their own. Their children have godmothers or "aunts" who share child rearing responsibilities with the mother.

They also expressed a lot of sympathy for Black women who are "out there struggling" without the kinship networks that they have. These women easily relate to the problems many Black women face and are eager to help out when they can. In fact I was able to get interviews with two of the women I contacted only because I was a "sister" and they are always willing "to help a sister out because they know how it is."

Heightened Spirituality

"God ain't a he or a she, but a It (Walker, 1974 p. 202)." In this passage Celie and Shug discuss God. Celie was raised to be afraid of a God who resembled an old white man and sat in the clouds and handed down punishments. Shug, however, came to love a God who lived in everyone and everything. All that was good came from God. Evil and sin were matters of interpretation for Shug, but all that was natural was good for God made it. God was the spirit of life.

This same kind of belief was common in the women interviewed. All of the women had been raised in a church (their mothers made them go) and while some (three) did not express deep church commitments at this time, each one expressed a spiritual view that much resembled Shug Avery's. God is seen as a natural part of life, something that cannot be divorced from life. The church is seen by those still active in church activities as more of a faith community. The church is a binding place where people come together to share their faith and fellowship with one another.

The Black Community

Very closely related to church relationship is the relationship with the Black Community. The church has long been a focal point of community activity. One woman interviewed spoke of how her parents stressed community and church involvement when she was a child. She was told over and over again that her life was not hers to keep selfishly, but that she was to share her life with others. Now as a nun she has committed herself to the empowerment of Black people in the Roman Catholic Church.

Close relationships have been in the past the mainstay of the Black community. These relationships often revolved around family and friends, but often reached out to church members, neighbors, and other African-American people in general. African-American psychologist Joseph White suggests that community mindedness is part of the "survival equipment of African-American people" (White, 1984) and more recently, Molefi Asante (1988) writes that the notion of expanded community is part of an afrocentric world view.

Conclusions

Recently there has been a trend in adult education for programs to focus on individual activity. Self guided instruction and programmed learning have become standard. Adult educators of the dominant culture may feel that their goal is to have a self-sufficient, self-motivated individual. But these characteristics may not as desirable in a different cultural context.

Programs that work with and capitalize upon the strengths of African-American women will be far more effective in the long run with Black female populations. On several occasions mothers and daughters have participated together in a job training/basic skills program sponsored by the Midwest Women's Center in Chicago, Illinois. This kind of participation builds upon a positive and natural relationship, mothers and daughters working and learning together; sisters and neighbors sharing their struggles and concerns. The educator who wishes to work with African-American women should be prepared to be a good and patient listener, a friend, a guide, and role model.

The African-American woman can be compared to a magnet. She draws people into herself and from them gains strength and determination.

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KNOWLES AND THE MID-CENTURY SHIFT IN PHILOSOPHY OF ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract: Utilizing archival materials at Syracuse University through the Kellogg Project, this study analyzes the work of Knowles as reflecting modern American individualism and change in direction of philosophy of adult education in the U.S., with particular focus on the separation of means from aims and of the individual from society.

This research is part of a study of the shift in 20th century American philosophy of adult education. Although there is general agreement that "Progressive Adult Education" strongly influenced the subsequent development of the field, there is not agreement about the continuity and discontinuity of this history. Many view this history as a line of continuity and progress from Dewey to Lindeman to Knowles, while others view the now dominant "Behaviorist" and "Humanistic" philosophies as a break from the social change emphasis of the "Progressives," and others as a neglect of the "Liberal Arts" traditions of adult education.

This historical study follows up the author's earlier cultural and philosophic analyses.[1] The theoretical framework of this earlier work and the present study include these perspectives: (a) adult education in the U.S. currently reflects American mainstream culture, particularly modern individualism with its emphases on self-reliance and self-fulfillment, in which private interests overshadow public ends; (b) the work of Knowles needs philosophic and historical analyses because of his status as a giant in the field and of the enormity of his following in recent decades; (c) Knowles, his following, and his influence reflect modern American individualism with a merger of "Humanistic" and "Behaviorist" philosophies; and (d) there are significant philosophic differences between Knowles and those with whom he is frequently viewed as being in philosophic harmony.

In attempting to study historical contexts from the 1950s to 1970s, this research focuses on Knowles with the purpose of providing a contextual analysis to the earlier philosophic and cultural analyses that separate Knowles from Lindeman. Utilizing a primary methodology of analyzing pertinent materials in the Adult and Continuing Education Collections at Syracuse University, the following analysis draws from published articles as well as unpublished materials and correspondence from the following Collections: The Malcolm Knowles Papers, Adult Education Association, Commission of Professors of Adult Education, Center for the Study of Liberal Education.[2] In attempting to provide further analysis to the work of Knowles, the intention is not to criticize Malcolm Knowles, but rather to clarify his assumptions, and to raise the issue of why these assumptions attracted (and still attract) such a following in American adult education.

Dichotomy Between Means and Aims

A major characteristic of American modern individualism in all areas of society, according to *Habits of the Heart--Individualism and Commitment in American Life*, is a growing dichotomy between decisions about means and issues about aims.[3] That is, there is an implicit assumption that *how* questions are separate from *why* questions, that technical issues are disconnected from philosophic issues.

Knowles reflected and promoted this syndrome by turning attention away from the aims of American adult education toward an emphasis on the means of adult education. Rather than entering the philosophic debate about the purposes and methods of adult education that characterized the 1950s, Knowles tended to go around the debate by positing an underlying premise: conflicts are reconcilable with the "right" definition.

Knowles' posture can be seen in his 1957 article in *Adult Education*, "Philosophical Issues That Confront Adult Educators," published while he was Executive Director of the Adult Education Association.[4] He contends that conflicting views are reconcilable "if we define our aim as helping individuals to liberate themselves *from* whatever shackles and deficiencies prevent them from fulfilling themselves...(and) each individual himself defines what he will be when free" (p. 238). Definition is a philosophical act, and here Knowles' act is one of expressing belief in the autonomous, self-reliant individual whose goal is self-fulfillment.

Knowles' faith in the autonomous individual in alleviating conflicting aims is furthered by his faith that individual adult learning theory will dissolve conflicting philosophic issues about methods. In this 1957 article, he writes: "....what differences there are, it seems to me, arise more out of a lack of adequate data about adult learning than out of ideological differences....I believe that this philosophic issue will diminish as evaluative techniques are improved, as research knowledge about adult learning is deepened, and as adult learning theory is developed" (p.238).

With these premises, then, Knowles continues consistently in the next two decades to go around the philosophic issues of adult education with a pragmatic and eclectic focus on means. In a 1972 article, in which he delineates a wide spectrum of theoretical influences upon him concerning adult education practice (including Carl Rogers associated with "Humanism" and Ralph Tyler associated with "Behaviorism"), there is no hint of philosophic prioritizing.[5] By 1979, in an article, "How I Coped with Fads in Training," he traces four decades of fad influences upon and identification with him (from group dynamics to behavioral objectives) and concludes: "I have very positive feelings about fads....I know that there is likely to be some useful outcome from every fad. And my andragogical theory of adult learning makes them all equally respectable when used appropriately" (p.38).[6]

In the 1972 theoretical analyses, Knowles cites Dewey's *Experience and Education* as having sudden and significant influence upon him during the 1950s. If the above portrayal of Knowles' underlying assumptions concerning means and aims is valid, those theoreticians with a differing view may wish that Knowles would have read more of Dewey, particularly *The Sources of a Science of Education*. Dewey writes:

> "Teachers....want very largely to find out how to do things with the maximum prospect of success. Put badly, they want recipes....It is very easy for science to be regarded as a guarantee that goes with the sale of goods rather than as a light to the eyes and a lamp to the feet. We can assign means to science and ends to philosophy only under the condition that there be persistent and unremitting interaction between the two....Until educators get the independence and courage to insist that educational aims are to be formed as well as executed within the educative process, they will not come to consciousness of their own function....Education is a mode of life, of action. As an act it is wider than science".[7]

Dichotomy Between the Individual and Society

American modern individualism, with its assumptions of the autonomous individual and of arbitrary goals of life, is reflected in Knowles' premises and practices in the archival records, especially during the 1960s. Although Knowles sometimes expresses a belief in an interactive relationship between the individual and environment, there is little evidence that his theoretical framework emphasizes the effects of the environment upon the individual. Indeed, Knowles' framework is primarily that of the autonomous individual, and his view of human nature as innately good is closer to that of Rousseau and Rogers than that of Dewey and Maslow. And when it comes to the relationship between the individual, society and adult education, the archival evidence points to a separation of Knowles from the social philosophy of Dewey and of Lindeman.

Perhaps the clearest statement that denotes Knowles' assumptions, and that separates him from Lindeman's inherent tie between adult education and the social order, is in a copy of a book review that he did for a German periodical in 1973. Knowles attempts "to reveal my most deeply held values as an adult educator." Included are these sentences:

> "I believe that the only obligation common to all adult educators is the nurture, facilitation, and provision of resources for the growth and development of individuals toward their own unique, self-determined, self-actualization....It also implies that the goals of learning are exclusively the responsibility of the learner....I see a sharp distinction among the roles of political, economic, and educational change agents in working toward this end....The goal of the political and economic change agents is to produce defined changes. The goal of educational change agents is to produce greater competence on the part of people in bringing about change....I believe that unless we keep our role clearly differentiated, and use only educational strategies, we will diminish our potency as adult educators."[8]

These assumptions can be seen in the development of The Modern Practices of Adult Education during the 1960s, and when Knowles' manuscript received reviews before publication through the editor in 1969. The first review by Tilden Harrison criticizes Knowles for the manuscript's skimpy treatment of society, and for its lack of focus on conflicts such as those between youths/adults and blacks/whites. The second, by Eugene Johnson, then of the University of Georgia and later Executive Director of AEA, criticizes the manuscript for its lack of attention to special target populations and to the concept of community as the client of adult education. "The modern dynamic metropolitan area is a vastly different matter from the small town. I think it deserved more attention than it got....The book reflects Malcolm Knowles' extensive experience in studying and working with groups. This is both a strength and in one way a weakness. He does not cope with the problem of priorities as he sees the needs of the American people and their communities." Knowles' response to the editor indicates that he did not see the criticisms as helpful and so paid little attention to them.[9]

The book's neglect of societal and community dimensions is underlined by the social realities of the 1960s, a period of significant turmoil, especially in major cities. Knowles had been in Boston for almost a decade, and although it is impossible to draw definite conclusions from the archival resources available, there is little evidence of Knowles' involvement in urban issues and their connection to adult education while at Boston University.

Perhaps the most interesting resources are the records of the Center for Study of Liberal Education for Adults, which was transferred to Boston University from the University of Chicago in 1964, and lived out its last few years there. A 1963 memo summarizing a preliminary meeting of CSLEA and Boston University officials describes the School of Education dean's and Knowles' "strong pitch for CSLEA to come to Boston U....that he and Malcolm would do much to keep CSLEA from moving to Teachers College."[10] This enthusiasm for CSLEA on the part of Knowles seems to have been short-lived. By 1968, CSLEA was gone, and in a memo to the Dean, Knowles expressed his feelings: "Yes, I am disappointed about CSLEA dissolving, but I believe that you know that I was becoming increasingly disappointed about the contribution it was making to our profession. So its loss will have very little impact on our programs."[11]

There are at least three possible reasons for Knowles' apparent disassociation with CSLEA. One, there was underlying philosophic conflict between Knowles and Liberal Adult Education. Such conflict is obvious in a 1965 book review by Knowles of a Great Books Foundation manual that produced heated correspondence by the manual's author.[12] Two, Knowles may be expressing disappointment at CSLEA's attempted shift away from its earlier reliance on "operationalism" toward activities of "reflection". Three, there was apparently a difference between CSLEA and Knowles in regard to the societal dimensions of adult education. This difference can be seen in the 1960s at Boston University.

The CSLEA years at Boston were ones of struggling with its own role in the societal issues that permeated the nation. In 1964, as part of its work with the Negro Colleges Committee for Adult Education, a plan was made for a community-based People's College that would focus on specific life problems. At the same time, CSLEA also noted its interest in the development of continuing education for women, education for urban life, and education of the citizen for public responsibility.[13] And in 1967, when it was struggling for its survival because of loss of funding from the Ford Foundation, CSLEA emphasized its role in urban education in an appeal to Boston University: "In one way or another, urbanism and its implications for continuing liberal education have been a persistent preoccupation of CSLEA...we believe a BU Center can make an important contribution to the equally important and often neglected 'liberal' component in education for urban life."[14]

In contrast, Knowles during these years consistently focused on the individual in adult education. In the same 1964 Bostonia alumni magazine feature on BU's continuing education programs, in which CSLEA emphasized societal dimensions, the section on Knowles focused on the individual educator and the individual learner. In a 1967 statement of goals for the urban university's continuing education program, Knowles begins with the paragraph emphasizing societal dimensions but then focuses on the individual adult learner for the next two pages.[15] The 1967-68 bibliography of 29 pages for the graduate program in adult and higher education shows few entries related to the problems of urban education.[16] And the one piece of evidence indicating involvement of Knowles in Boston's critical interracial situation is that of his monitoring a T-Group confrontation of blacks and whites through closed-circuit television.[17]

The potential significance of this analysis--besides being part of a study of the cultural and historical dimensions of American philosophy of adult education--is reflected to the field's introspection of its past and future as it faces a new century. The demographic phenomenon now affecting adult education is marked by dimensions of race, class and gender. Educational institutions--in which teaching/learning environments are dominated in subtle but powerful ways by mainstream epistemological and value assumptions--will be challenged. As Pratt explains, "The psychological perspectives which dominate adult education literature in North America are stridently individualistic, always within the ethos of the dominant individualistic culture of the United States" (356).[18] And as the editors of Serving Culturally Diverse Populations conclude, "Those of us who seek to broaden the access of culturally diverse adults to adult education programs will need to play a proactive role in altering traditions within our own institutional frameworks of adult and continuing education" (pp. 105-106).[19]

NOTES

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EXPLORING CHINESE CONCEPTIONS OF LEARNING AND TEACHING

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Abstract: I am not, nor do I aspire to be, a China expert. My abiding professional interest is in teaching and learning amongst adults. Thus, although the context of this paper is China, its focus is on learning and teaching--more precisely, conceptions of learning and teaching as they are construed within the context of China and interpreted by a Westerner. I have written elsewhere (Pratt, 1991a, 1991b) on the context of China as it influences conceptions of learning and teaching. Therefore, this paper will focus on the conceptions rather than their possible antecedents.

Conceptions are specific meanings attached to experiences or phenomena which then influence our behaviour. We form conceptions of virtually every aspect of our perceived world and use those abstract representations to delimit something from, and relate it to, other aspects of our world. In so doing we tend to project our own ways of understanding, and even our forms of 'logic', into contexts in which those ways of understanding and reasoning may not be appropriate. Although prevalent in many common, everyday situations, it is perhaps most obvious when working cross-culturally. Our conceptions are culturally embedded reference points through which we make sense of, and give meaning to, the world around us. From this perspective, there can be no neutral ground from which to understand another person's meaning.

METHODOLOGY

This study is concerned with Chinese adult educators' conceptions of learning and teaching. The research tradition that best suited this problem is called phenomenography. (Marton 1981; 1986) In contrast to phenomenology, which focuses on that which is **common** across individuals, phenomenography is a method for mapping qualitatively **different** ways in which people understand an aspect of their world. As such, an effort is made to probe the variety of ways in which a group of people understand a given phenomenon and sort those understandings into conceptual categories. It is assumed that, although there are as many idiosyncratic ways of describing something as there are people who experience it, there are a limited number of substantively different ways in which it can be understood. The goal is to describe the conceptual categories that constitute that variety of understandings. Such conceptual categories are assumed useful in understanding other people's thinking and behaviour.

Subjects were nineteen Chinese adult educators, visiting Canada for one year, and thirty-eight Chinese adult educators interviewed within China from twelve cities throughout China. A final set of ten interviews were conducted by a co-researcher from China, in Mandarin, and then translated back into English for analysis. This set of interviews constituted an additional ten subjects and a further check on the trustworthiness of the data base. All interviews were considered as a single base and, therefore, no attempt was made to compare groups, e.g., those within China and those within Canada.

Transcripts were analyzed for 'units of meaning'--comments which revealed the person's understanding of 'learning' and 'teaching'. The meaning would occasionally reside in the words themselves but, in general, the interpretation had to be made in relation to the whole transcript. Where possible, the units of meaning were returned to the interviewee for validation that their thoughts and words had not been misinterpreted. For the most part, this process of validation was limited to those individuals studying in Canada.

Units of meaning were then pooled as self-contained statements and the analysis shifted to finding qualitatively different understandings of learning and teaching. The goal was to find any and all substantial variations of understanding for each concept. Validation of the emergent conceptions was a matter of having an independent judge place a random selection of pooled statements into their appropriate categories or conceptions. Eighty percent or more agreement was necessary for a category to remain.

FINDINGS

Conceptions of Learning

Four qualitatively different conceptions of learning emerged. Learning was understood as 1) the acquisition of knowledge or skill from others; 2) fulfillment of responsibility to society; 3) a change in understanding of something external to self; and 4) a change in understanding self.

L-1: Learning as the acquisition of knowledge or skill from others. Within this conception knowledge is referred to as a commodity that exists 'out there' and must be acquired through a process of transfer from more knowledgeable others (e.g., parents and teachers). For example, one person described learning this way:

> For me, learning, besides learning normally in class and in the school, I think to pay attention to everything you don't know, where you see in daily life...normally it's the teacher teaching the students. The students learn from the teacher and also the students can teach themselves to get the knowledge. We get the knowledge from other people. (47 yr. old male)

Another person described learning as a process of 'catching-up' by drawing knowledge from others.

> To start the learning is to know the knowledge. In our country, there is a saying, that is "I learn until I die," and so I think the definition of learning is that it's a catch-up game; always catch-up the knowledge. I draw knowledge just from other people--from other people. And I can't produce the knowledge, so I can't draw from myself. (40 yr. old female)

There is a sense of detached consumption in this conception. Learning is seen as occurring through a transference of information from the teacher (or more knowledgeable other) to the learner. Knowledge is both external to the learner and stable in its movement from 'expert' to learner. As such, the learner is portrayed as a relatively unquestioning consumer of knowledge.

L-2: Learning as fulfillment of responsibility to society. This conception was expressed in terms of a given standard or expected quality of commitment and belief. Although one might never fully achieve it, learning was seen as an attempt to fulfill one's duty and responsibility to others. For example, one man talked about his responsibility to promote a certain level of knowledge in society.

> Learning is because people want to promote [a specific] level of knowledge and to fulfill themselves. **(Interviewer: What does it mean to fulfill yourself?)** Well, I must learn something to fulfill myself. When you have various kinds of knowledge other people like to use your knowledge. When you have lots of knowledge you can get fulfillment...to do a better job, because I have the responsibility for my job. Our country needs to promote this knowledge level so I must contribute myself to this kind of job. For myself, I've no chance for promotion; my age is over the promoting age. So I must contribute myself to this kind of job. This way is, in Chinese meaning, is that you love your job and you respect yourself. So when I respect myself and love my job, I do something in a moral way. (51 yr. old male)

A young woman talked about recognizing when she had learned something important because it was acknowledged by others and benefited society.

> For the importance of learning, or realize the importance of the knowledge I've learnt, it should be acknowledge by the society. If the people or the society thinks it's useful, um, it's very important that the knowledge importance is acknowledged by the majority. The second is, whether the knowledge you learn can bring benefit to society or not. (24 yr. old female)

Conception L-2 differs from L-1 in the emphasis given to the **purpose** for which one learns. Learning is now understood not simply as a process of knowledge acquisition, for whatever purpose, but as a means to a social responsibility. The application of knowledge is of primary concern. There is no questioning or challenging of what is to be learned and there is an element of personal fulfillment couched within a framework of 'duty' and 'responsibility' toward society. Both conceptions present the learner as a willing and compliant consumer -- one of knowledge; the other of particular values. However, the major shift is from consumption to application or purpose.

L-3: Learning as a change in understanding of something external to self. Learning is now understood to include a process of change in understanding as well as an accumulation of information. One can learn new ways of understanding old things.

> The first meaning to me [of learning] is that I learn something I don't know. Before I learn something there's something I don't know, and now some problems in my job. Through the learning I learn the method to solve the problem in my job. So I think the learning is, I mean, this is the first [kind of] learning, for the meaning. And the second meaning is that for the middle-age people we have a lot of practical experience, but the theories is shortage for us, so we have very little theories, so we must learn some theories and then we can understand and renew our knowledge to suit future job. (44 yr. old male)
>
> Learning means I get to know some new things. Get to know things I don't know before. Or, I get some new ideas about what I've learned before. New ways of thinking about old things. (29 yr. old female)

There is, within this conception, a trace of L-1 but also the emergence of a qualitative change in understanding. There is a distinction between learning new things and understanding old things in new ways. We have moved from understanding learning as an accumulation of knowledge or fulfillment of social responsibility, to thinking about learning as a change in understanding information or events. Thus, this conception represents something of a watershed, in two ways. First, there is an emphasis on understanding, i.e., the **meaning** of what is learned is now important. Second, there is an implied change in the view of learner. Learners are not just consumers of more information but processors that understand in certain ways and then revise those understandings under changed learning conditions. However, the object of change is something external to the person.

L-4: Learning as a change in understanding of self. Some individuals saw learning as a change in their understanding of self in relation to society. Although it was acknowledged that learning could entail an accumulation of knowledge there was no reference to a specific moral character or social goal that should be the result of learning. Two quotes illustrate this. The first is from a woman interviewed in China during October of 1988. The second is from a different woman, interviewed in Canada, during the Spring of 1990.

> **(Interviewer: You say a very important kind of learning for you is a kind of learning that opened you?)** I think this help me to cope with some difficulty, plus I also ask myself why I lived in the world. And what kind of person I should be. So this sometimes is a difficult question in my mind. So to learn from other people, to open the mind to help me to cope with this, (24 yr. old female)
>
> Things are so different. **(Interviewer: What do you mean, different?)** Everything different. My thinking about everything is different. So much to think about. It is difficult. So confusing. There is much to consider. I don't think the same any

> more. I am not a different person but I am not the same. It worry me quite a bit. I have change so much. (28 yr. old female)

Conception L-4 represents an additional change in understanding of learning. In the first quote, when the respondent describes learning as addressing why she lives in the world and what kind of person she should be, there is the hint of various 'selves' and the emergence of a concern for which one she should or could be. The focus has shifted, moving the learner from background to foreground with the 'self' becoming an object of learning and change.

In the second quote the individual refers to changes that she has experienced while studying in Canada. The contextual differences between first and second quotes may be significant. Yet, they both refer to the 'self' as an object of change, and imply that learning can have a role in changing one's perspective on self.

Conceptions of teaching

Three conceptions of teaching emerged: Teaching as 1) the delivery of content; 2) the development of character; and 3) a particular type of relationship. The first two conceptions positioned the teacher at the center of the educational process--first with teachers as transmitters of knowledge, and second with teachers as role models of particular values. The third positioned learners as the focal point, with the teacher in a helping or guiding relationship.

T-1. Teaching as the delivery of content. In China, as elsewhere, teachers are assumed to be expert in a content area. That is, they are assumed to be well grounded and experienced in the knowledge and skill to be taught. In discussing such concepts as 'teaching' 'motivation', and 'individual differences', several Chinese adult educators talked about their responsibility to convey a body of knowledge or expertise. For example,

> ...because he (teacher) is not only born before students but also he has more knowledge than students, so to learn something from teachers, to learn their knowledge and to learn the experiences the teacher has handled before...that is teaching. (47 yr. old male) **(Interviewer: What is the ideal relationship that should exist between an adult teacher and an adult learner?)** It seems the students should have to learn something from the teacher, so the relationship also should be a teacher and a student, or giver and receiver. **(Interviewer: In both ways? In other words, one be teacher and the other be learner, and at sometimes they reverse that role?)** No. Just the teacher to give and the students to receive. In class I am a teacher. I should give all the knowledge I know to my students. So in class this is the relationship between teacher and the students. But after class, they should be friends. (40 yr. old female)

Throughout the interviews very little concern was expressed about individual differences or student motivation. It was important that learners 'try their best', but if they did not learn, it was interpreted as a problem of student motivation or ability, not a matter of individual aptitude, and certainly not the fault of the teacher. There is a strong similarity between this conception of teaching and the first conception of learning. Again, knowledge is understood to be external to the learner and stable in its movement from teacher to teacher. The teacher's responsibility is to deliver content; the learner's responsibility is to absorb it. There is no mention of purpose or application, only the certainty of roles--teachers give and learners receive.

T-2. Teaching as the development of character. The second conception of teaching maintains a concern for delivery of content but adds a dimension -- the development of a proper attitude toward that content. For example, the following quotes refer to the 'moral' character of learners and teachers.

> A teacher must teach students how to be a useful person for one's society, for other people, for all the people around us. Not just teaching the knowledge but also teaching the students to be a good person, a moral person, yes...have moral courage. (40 yr. old female)
>
> To help them get knowledge and improve their knowledge, and also morality or experiences that later or can be put into use in the work. **(Interviewer: What does that mean to 'improve their morality'?)** The vocational morality is very different, with different jobs or different vocations. For the teacher, we should teach the students how to set out a goal for serving the country or devote their knowledge or experiences or skill to their work, and to serve the country later on. (47 yr. old male)

Two elements are combined in conception T-2. First, there is a responsibility to deliver useful content (usually related to one's work). Second, there must be an aspect of 'morality' toward the content and/or the work. These two aspects are not expressed as separate, educational responsibilities; they are complementary of each other. Thus, the 'character' of learners must be molded or developed in ways that engender 'morality' toward others and toward the country. The teacher is assumed to be 'model' of both: competence and morality.

There is a parallel between this conception and L-2, learning as fulfillment of responsibility to society. In both there is an emphasis on the application of what is learned in ways that are consistent with society's needs. Purpose again rises to prominence and teaching and learning are in service of duty and responsibility.

T-3. Teaching as a particular type of relationship. The third conception shifts the focus from teacher, concerned with content and character development, to learner and a special kind of relationship between learner and teacher. There is a reversal of the figure-ground; the relationship between learner and teacher moves from the background to center-stage. This was often characterized by such terms as 'caring' 'nurturing', 'helping', and 'guiding'. Occasionally, it would be expressed in terms that likened it to parent-child relationships. In all cases, there was a strong sense of responsibility to the students and a type of friendship that formed the core of their conception and gave definition to their role and function. One woman expressed it this way:

> It's so important for a teacher to help the students. So it's very important. I will try my best to help my students in many different ways. For example, if they have problems of study where a life problem where kind of questions they want to ask or need help from, I would try my best. Even though I failed to help them economically or financially, but the students can feel the care and the understanding of the teacher. And the very most important thing is to understand each other, is a very essential important foundation for the relationship between teachers and students. I also get the friendship and caring from the students. Since my teaching place or class is really far from here, in the Beijing suburbs, it took me around more than two hours by bus to go there. So after the long run I would feel very tired, and the students can know that, and they prepare the drinks for me and even during lunch time they would stay with me. It's not important whether they stay with me or not, but I can feel the feeling from the students and their friendship, and this is very nice. (24 yr. old female)

When asked to clarify what was meant by these references to 'friendship' and a special relationship between learner and teacher, she said:

> Adult students in China, they have lots of experience and they are sophisticated about society and what you should do, what you should not do. If you tell them something idealistic, they will say, "No; I don't believe it." They will say you are just propaganda. They will not tell you what they are thinking. That's not good for teacher. If teachers wants students to tell truth they have to be a friend. To be a friend means to show your understanding of what they believe and what they do not believe. This is especially true for adult education. (24 yr. old female)

In conception T-3 the essence of meaning has shifted from knowledge delivery and/or character development to a type of relationship characterized by mutual understanding, honesty, trust, caring, and respect. A peripheral element of previous conceptions (relationship between teacher and learner) has now become the central focus of this conception and the learner has emerged as a more significant element. The traditional hierarchical relationship has not disappeared, but it has been portrayed as containing an element of nurturing, caring, and reciprocity that did not appear in other conceptions of teaching.

CONCLUSIONS

Conceptions of learning range from a position of absolutism and basic duality of knowledge (L-1 and L-2), where authorities know what is right and wrong, and every problem has a 'correct' answer, to a relativist position (L-4), where there are multiple realities and what is known today may be shown to be 'wrong' tomorrow. In this way, conceptions of learning may be hierarchical. Conception L-3 is interesting in that it may represent something of a transition, where learning is described as 'new ways of thinking about old things.' The emphasis on **meaning** is important both in its presence, as compared to L-1 and L-2, and in the expressed possibility of its changing. Conception L-4 is an extension of this in that the meaning of 'self' is a potential focus of learning and change. Considering the context of China today it may be unusual that anyone voiced conceptions that questioned those values and their place within Chinese society.

Conceptions of teaching do not suggest any hierarchical relationship. Instead, they appear to parallel each other with individuals occasionally describing more than one conception. This may be a product of who was responding--that is, these people may see themselves more as teachers than as learners. Many were experienced teachers with several years to reflect upon as they considered what it meant to teach. As a result, it may be that their experience as teachers is more recent, salient and accessible to them than their experience as learners simply because it has been their designated role within society for some time.

Cross-cultural commonalities

In some ways these conceptions are not unlike those within Western societies. For example conceptions L-1 and L-2, and T-1 and T-2 represent a basic duality of thought and struggle to realize a universality of knowledge and morality. In particular, T-1 and T-2 suggest a view of teaching as a set of activities that lacks a genuine conversation between teacher and learner--a place where there is no communication, only a unidirectional deposition of content in learners. Although we are not prone to acknowledge it, such conceptions of teaching and learning are abundant in both the literature and practice of adult education in North America and Europe. (e.g., Beaty, Dall'Alba, and Marton 1990; Perry 1988).

There is also within these transcripts another vision and characterization of teaching and learning that is common across our cultures. It is captured in the essence of conception T-3 and is a view of teaching that starts with a 'fidelity to person' and places learner and teacher in a special kind of relationship. (e.g., Noddings, 1986) In this sense, fidelity is a quality of the relationship and more merely an attribute of one individual. It does not imply a lack of concern for academic achievement or the development of character. However, guiding principles for teaching are derived from a primary concern for persons (students) and no goal or purpose can drive the educational process unless it is consonant with this relationship.

Finally, in any new learning situation what is learned is a product of what is known; we learn new understandings in terms of what we already know, either by assimilation or accommodation. Following this principle, teachers begin by finding out how learners conceptualize the material under study and use that as a base from which to build new understanding. In other words, they first try to understand existing conceptions before teaching new conceptions. Attempting to understanding Chinese conceptions of learning and teaching may be a logical parallel to this principle of learning and a reasonable starting point in any exchange of educational knowledge between our cultures.

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Shaping Literacy: An Historical Analysis of Literacy Education as Social Policy

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Abstract: Literacy education has been part of U.S. social policy for well over a century. Through time, such social policy has helped create ingrained patterns of public and educational response to illiteracy. This paper analyzes this phenomenon, seeking to penetrate the hegemony surrounding illiteracy.

Introduction

For well over a century, the public has been shocked with virtual decade-by-decade regularity on the size and "price" of adult illiteracy. Each decade brings renewed social policy which burns brightly, then fades. Each social policy further shapes the hegemony of literacy--leading Smith (1977, p. iv) to conclude: "Over the years, in times of crisis, the main body of Americans kept rediscovering the literacy problems and over the years, hastily contrived solutions to the problem were invented or reinvented. As the crisis passed, so did the concern of America's leaders." A dubious honour unique within adult education, the illiterate adult has been historically charged with dragging the nation down and contributing to national crises. What social policy has insisted the illiterate adult must do and what a growing body of research and illiterates' expressed needs say illiterate adults want and are willing to do, creates a serious dichotomy in our approach to illiteracy (Quigley, 1989). As Harman concludes: "An acceptance of the recipient's world view as legitimate and a sensitivity to the dynamics of non-literate cultures have eluded literacy programming throughout its unhappy history" (1977, p. 446). This study suggested a five phase "rise and fall" cycle in the literacy social policy, process: 1) national crisis defined, 2) illiteracy rediscovery, 3) various levels of controlled funding provided, 4) public disillusionment, 5) increased demand for accountability, 6) a decline in this episode of literacy interest. Today, we appear to be in "phase four." Media interest and federal funding wane, the current "Barbara Bush Campaign" is coming under attack for recruiting only 200,000 of an estimated 30 million illiterate adults (Kozol, 1990), ABE participation rates appear to have remained at 5% (NACAE, 1987), with attrition rates in ABE exceeding 60% in many states (e.g. Cain & Walen, 1979; PA. Dept. of Education, 1989). We see the growing demand for program accountability and "phase five" (e.g. Jump Start, 1989) opening before us. Thus, there is a need to understand why and how social policy repeats itself, and foster research to create a counter-hegemony of literacy reform to attempt to break this cycle.

Questions Addressed, Data Sources, Methodology

This study addressed two critical questions: 1) How has illiteracy been historically conceptualized and portrayed through official governmental policies and definitions--what patterns are revealed, with what implications? And, 2) How has literacy as social policy been utilized through time--what are the patterns, with what implications? In this, two data sources were utilized. Some 300 archival policy documents (federal primarily) were studied and over 100 definitions of "literacy/illiteracy" examined as used or accepted by the USDE and Bureau of the Census. Data were content-analyzed informed by accepted definitions of social policy and sociological reproduction theory.

Definitions and Discussion

Social policy is typically defined as one component of public policy dedicated to improving some aspect of human or societal conditions. "Perhaps most commonly social policy is defined as policy concerned with...the development and management of specific services of the State and local authorities, such as health, education, welfare and social services" (Townsend, 1975, p. 2). In an applied definition, which provides a useful framework for this study, Finch (1984) defined social policy as "action designed by government to engineer social change; as a mechanism for identifying human needs and devising the means to meet them; as a mechanism for solving social problems; as redistributive justice; as the means of regulating subordinate groups" (p. 4). Applying Finch's definition, social policy history may be seen as growing from early religious roots into a 19th century means for regulating subordinate groups, and then into a 20th century instrument for social engineering, with moments of applying literacy for the redistribution of justice. It is here argued that until literacy is used as a mechanism for identifying human needs and devising the means to meet them, our cycle of social policies will continue to fail.

1870-1930: Social Policy for the Regulation of Subordinate Groups

Literacy social policy has its roots in a mix of fear and loathing. As Verner noted, "For some curious reason sin was associated almost exclusively with illiteracy" (1973, p. 11) in 17th century Britain. In Pole's 1814 History of Adult Schools (Verner, 1967), adult literacy education meant reading the Bible in order to, "moralize and Christianize the minds of men--Instead of idleness, profaneness, and vice--[the Scriptures would] inculcate diligence, sobriety, frugality, piety, and heavenly mindedness" (p. 18). The Puritans carried such ideals to America--the single time full literacy has been achieved in America (Stubblefield & Keane, 1989). Such roots of moral regulation and control infused early schooling social policy: "Of the panoply of reasons offered by school promoters in this period [19th century], the inculcation of morality was supreme" (Graff, 1979, p. 23). "In the early 1800s, education was seen as a tool for unifying the nation; the common moral lessons expressed in primers were expected to provide a basis for shared values" (Fingeret, 1989, p. 6). Thus, social policy for adult illiterates emerged out of the dark side of the American Dream in the late 19th century. By 1882, with the immigrant influx, federal laws began prohibiting immigration by Chinese and further restrictions followed with literacy tests as screening devices. Henry Cabot Lodge proposed a bill in 1896 which refused entry to those who could not read or write in any language. He argued that through such social policy for regulating subordinates "the mental and moral qualities which make our race" could be preserved while excluding "the wholesale infusion of races whose traditions and inheritances, whose thoughts and beliefs are wholly alien to ours and with whom we have never assimilated or even been associated in the past" (in Cook, p. 2). This bill passed Congress as did similar ones in 1909 and 1915.

Fear and loathing in public opinion supportive to such policy was expressed in debate at the turn of the century. Rev. Mayo wrote in Education (1898), "we must stop the inflow from everywhere that, in one generation would make this Republic the mental and moral sewer of all nations" (p. 34). The proposed bill "is a simple, sensible, American attempt to prevent the massing of the forces of Illiteracy which...has already become the peril of the Republic" (Mayo, p. 36).

Into the 20th century, literacy education social policy shifted to secular normative objectives but, nevertheless, "literacy could not be promoted or comprehended in isolation from morality" (Graff, 1979, p. 25)--"Morality" now meaning "a mode of conduct...a way of life, habits, values, attitudes which were based on the cultural necessities of progress" (Graff, p. 25). In 1912, the YMCA began Americanization and literacy programs, warning, "Unless we can assimilate, develop, train and make good citizens out of them, they are certain to make ignorant, suspicious and un-American citizens out of us. Unless we Americanize them they will foreignize us" (Carlson, 1970, p. 447). The federal government ultimately expanded literacy as regulation to deny of entry into the country based on a lack of literacy skills and, in certain states, citizens were denied the right to vote based on literacy tests. New York in the 1920s required new voters to "read intelligibly an excerpt of approximately 50 words from the State constitution and write legibly in English 10 words from the passage read" ("School Principals...", 1922, p. 71). Since citizenship classes typically involved the husband in most families, few immigrant women were allowed to vote in New York during this period ("School Principals...", p. 71). For immigrant workers, Packard Motor Company and Paige-Detroit said immigrants must show proficiency in Americanization before they could be eligible for job promotion (Carlson, 1970). Likewise, prison inmates during the 1920s in Kentucky were given "an added incentive to learn...by a resolution which was passed by the State prison board requiring that an inmate be able to read and write before asking for parole ("For the Eradication...", 1923, p. 151).

The expanding list of literacy social policy objectives was well articulated in 1924 by President Coolidge. He outlined his list of goals for school and adult literacy education (Coolidge, 1924, 1-2). They should achieve five purposes: "stimulate and increase the power of the people to produce" (p. 1), cultivate "a taste for literature, history, and the fine arts" (p. 1), "be the handmaid of citizenship" (p. 1), "patriotism is always to be taught" (p. 1) and "morality, character, and religious convictions" (p. 2) are to be built. If schools fail, we need re-doubled efforts in literacy education for adults: "when it is remembered that ignorance is the most fruitful source of poverty, vice, and crime, it is easy to realize the necessity for removing what is a menace, [ie. illiteracy] not only to our social well-being, but to the very existence of the Republic" (Coolidge, p. 2). These five statements of literacy purposes by Coolidge have echoed through federal social policy up to today: 1) Employment/productivity, 2) active citizenship, 3) strong patriotism, 4) character-building/morality, and, occasionally, 5) literacy for its own sake.

The first National Illiteracy Crusade was launched December 17, 1929 under Coolidge with no specific goals and no resources (Cook, 1977) but was widely publicized since John Finley of the New York Times was chairperson. The second campaign under newly elected President Hoover sought to make five million adults literate before the 1930 census with a budget of $52,001.99 raised through personal appeals (Cook, p. 31). Thus, social policy as a mechanism for identifying human needs and devising the means to meet them was not part of the first modern, media-accompanied campaigns. Indeed, immigrants, illiterate Indians and Blacks were added as "special groups" for the first time only in the 1930 campaign ("Recent Educational Conferences...", 1930, P. 91).

1930-1940: Moments of Social Policy for the Redistribution of Social Justice

The Depression began a new era of U.S. social policy. Assisted by the army, work relief under the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was initiated in 1933 to provide work for single men between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five. However, the men were found to have an average grade reading level of only 6.8 and 7,369 of 375,000 men were unable to read a newspaper or write a letter (Cook, p. 41). Thus, the CCC experience now saw social policy turn toward economic renewal through vocational and literacy education while policies of morality and character development continued, especially for "special groups" in this period. One unsung Black adult educator, Ambrose Caliver, courageously led social policy in his capacity as Specialist in Education for Negroes with the U.S. Office of Education. He spoke out in the official government journal, School Life: "Only in a few places have Negro relief teachers been employed in the same ratio as Negroes bear to the population" (1934, p. 40). He developed the Magna Carta of Negro Education, widely distributed in 1934-35, asserting the rights of Blacks to equal education. Caliver wrote that the public and school officials needed to re-examine "their disposition to deal fairly and justly with the Negro in providing educational opportunities" (1934, p. 40). One of the few moments when government employed literacy social policy for a redistribution of justice, this singular effort nevertheless gravitated into the familiar social policies of development of character, citizenship, and particularly, patriotism and vocational training for productivity in the crises to follow.

1940-1960: Social Policy for Social Engineering

With the outbreak of World War II, literacy education quickly became important for national defense. The CCC added patriotism to its list of objectives (Oxley, 1937). By 1940, U.S. Commissioner John Studebaker warned that the spread of Nazism "has a special meaning for educators in this democracy--one of the 'earth's last best hopes'" (1940, p. 1). Literacy education as social policy turned to purposes of defense abroad and avoidance of Nazism at home. William Russell of Teachers College, Columbia, observed: "It is important that we do not follow the Nazis in the shortages that are apparent in their education and life. They have few illiterates; they have trained their bodies to be hard; they work with skill; they have apparently adjusted themselves to technology: but somewhere...they have lost the...Christian-Jewish ideal of God and Good have gone by board" (1942, p. 82). From illiteracy as a seed bed for sin, to illiteracy as threat to the American way, to the 1940s fear that illiteracy fostered Nazism, social policy history suggests that illiteracy has been perceived as a specter of devious forces needing eradication or, failing that, needing careful control.

As the war passed, economic need grew. "The eradication of illiteracy is not only important to national defense in times of crisis, but it also has a bearing on the effective utilization of human resources in normal times" (Caliver, 1948, p. 17). Thus, literacy education was recruited for human capital formation in the form of social engineering for a more productive economy. On January 17, 1951, President Truman asserted the "primary aim of our manpower mobilization is to safeguard our national security through the maximum development and use of our human resources" (cited in Caliver, 1951, p. 131). Caliver echoed the president's message: "The machines required in both war and peace demand the kind of skills, understandings, and flexibility not usually found among illiterates" (p. 131). Adding, "Illiteracy is one of the most important problems in the mobilization of our manpower to meet the present emergency" (p. 131). Into the 1950s, Senator Kilgore of West Virginia lobbied for more federal literacy funding since, he says, illiteracy not only "endangers democracy" (1952, p. 91) but a "Lack of ability to read makes the illiterate a menace to himself and his fellows in industry" (pp. 90 & 91).

As America entered the space race, social engineering became the nation's engine: "...our age demands army upon army of skilled technicians and professional experts, and to the tasks of preparing these men the educational system is increasingly dedicated" (Clark cited in Karabel & Halsey, 1977). These, then, were the roots which have led literacy into the 1970s and 80s call for economic recovery and tomorrow's concern for demographic upset: "America must do a great many things to avoid [an] unhappy rendezvous with demographic destiny. Among the most important things it must do is ensure that the twenty million-plus adults who are seriously deficient in basic skills become fully productive workers and citizens well before the rendezvous begins. Without their best efforts...there is little hope for the economic and social future of this country" (Chisholm, 1989, p. 3). Yesterday's xenophobia is expressed in today's fear of minorities and the call for productivity has an all too familiar ring. Literacy education remains a foot soldier in the social policy army sent to save the economy and the dominant culture. As illiteracy enters the 21st century, we need to ask what can be learned and how the cycle can be broken.

Into the 21st Century: The Need for Research

"The history of public educational policy leads to the conclusion that to support means to define, curtail, render accountable, and ultimately govern" (Zeigler, 1977, p. 17). Historically, literacy has been constantly redefined, "reshaped," redirected, curtailed to address crises and governed from the epicenter of politics. As social policy, it has basically ignored human needs and the effective devising of the means to meet them (Finch, 1984). However, there has been growing dissent over the direction of literacy education. Interest grows in the nature of literacy terminology (e.g. Ilsley, 1989), the politics of definition (e.g. Cunningham, 1989), our limiting paradigms (e.g. Kretovics, 1985; McLaren, 1988), revisionist history (e.g. Graff, 1979), and new thrusts in learner-based literacy programming are appearing (e.g. Fingeret & Jurmo, 1989). Research based on non-participants is growing (e.g. Beder, 1989; Quigley, 1990). But, to ignore social policy and its contextual history is to leave the dichotomy between socio-political and human needs intact. As stated by Graff (1979, p. 324), "literacy must be accorded a new understanding--in historical context. If its social meanings are to be understood and its value best utilized, the "myth of literacy" must be exploded."

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AN ANALYSIS OF THREE STRATEGIC TRAINING ROLES: THEIR IMPACT UPON STRATEGIC PLANNING PROBLEMS

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Abstract: This three-phase study analyzed the extent to which training can assist organizations to formulate and implement strategic plans successfully. Three strategic training roles were examined: Role 1 (Increasing Strategic Readiness), Role 2 (Improving Strategy Formulation), and Role 3 (Implementing Strategic Plans). The three strategic training roles explained 28% of the variance in planning problems, providing empirical evidence that training may offer a direct and substantial contribution to strategic planning success.

Review of the Literature

For much of the 20th century, the business landscape remained calm. Stable and secure, most organizations comfortably assumed that the next five years would be much like the past five. Products evolved predictably. Competition was constant. Customers were content.

Amid such tranquil conditions, business planning could be modest. Plans were short-range in horizon and budget-dominated in focus. Extrapolated from last year's figures, plans served to coordinate the operations of functional units and settle how capital resources were to be allocated. If longer range forecasts were required, they were founded on the same premise -- namely, that the future will be much like the past.

Over the past three decades, business environments -- once safe and steady -- have become turbulent and threatening. Between 1960 and 1990, most organizations encountered changes more extensive and more fundamental than anything since the 'modern' industrial system took shape between 1890 and 1920. The sources of environmental turbulence are many: accelerating rates of technological change, more aggressive competition, an expanding global marketplace, rapidly changing world politics, a swelling service-based economy, rising consumer expectations, shifting governmental regulations, fluctuating economic conditions, changing social and demographic trends, new supply and distribution channels, and the changing nature of the work force.

With change the only constant, adaptability is the sole competitive edge. During recent decades, a new form of business planning -- strategic planning -- has emerged as the central means that organizations use to adapt to environmental turbulence and meet the challenge of change. At its best, strategic planning does more than predict the future; it creates the future.

Despite its popularity, strategic planning remains a complex and difficult process, with most organizations encountering serious problems in formulating and implementing plans successfully. Numerous studies have attempted to identify the most common problems companies experience in strategic planning. Among the most frequently identified problems are the following:

(1) The failure of top management and major line officers to understand the nature of strategic planning.
(2) The inability of strategic planners to achieve consensus about broad strategic goals.
(3) The surfacing of major problems during implementation that had not been identified beforehand.

By facing and overcoming such planning problems, organizations evolve in their strategic planning efforts, gradually becoming more sophisticated and effective in their ability to anticipate and to adapt to shifting environmental conditions.

This research study was inspired by a critical observation: the most common strategic planning problems identified in the research may have training-related solutions. By helping organizations avoid, overcome, or lessen common strategic planning pitfalls, training may provide the most direct and substantial contribution to business plans of any human resource program or activity.

Over the past decade, company after company has discovered training's potential contribution to strategic planning success. Firms that have attributed their strategic success in significant part to training include General Electric, Xerox, Polaroid Corporation, Motorola, Inc., 3M, General Foods, General Motors, Goodyear Tire, Caterpillar Inc., IBM, Travenol Laboratories, Hewlett-Packard, and many others. A close examination of these examples, as well as the approximately 200 companies that participated in this research study, reveals that there is no one best way that training can be used to support strategic business planning. In fact, there appear to be three distinct strategic training roles:

Role 1: Increasing Strategic Readiness

Role 1 (Increasing Strategic Readiness) equips a critical mass of employees (from top level executives to frontline contributors) to think strategically, to plan strategically, and to understand key strategic issues.

Role 2: Improving Strategy Formulation

Role 2 (Improving Strategy Formulation) consists of the active participation of training professionals in the development of strategic plans -- either directly through personal involvement or indirectly through senior management.

Role 3: Implementing Strategic Plans

Role 3 (Implementing Strategic Plans) identifies and implements training programs that explicitly support strategic plans, thereby establishing a competitive advantage derived from superior employee competence.

Each of these three strategic training roles appears to have the potential of reducing common problems that organizations encounter in the planning process.

Of the three strategic training roles, Role 3 (Implementing Strategic Plans) is the one most frequently advocated and described. In fact, most proponents of strategy-linked training limit training's strategic contribution to the past facto implementation of pre-existing business plans. However, it is possible that training offers even more important contributions to strategic planning success by helping companies develop the readiness for strategic planning and by assisting the firm in the formulation of business plans.

Research Methodology

The study has three major aims. The investigation attempts to determine whether companies that use training to support strategic planning have fewer and/or less severe strategic planning problems than those organizations that do not. In addition, the study seeks to discover whether any single strategic training role has more impact than others in reducing planning problems. Finally, it seeks to substantiate whether organizations with more years of experience in strategic planning are more likely to use training to support strategic planning than firms with less experience.

The study was conducted in three phases. The first phase was an exploratory pilot study of 10 organizations using structured, face-to-face interviews. The second part was a survey of 171 firms employing a 70-item survey questionnaire. Results were analyzed through the use of multiple regression procedures and factor analyses. The third stage was a follow-up investigation of 20 firms through telephone interviews. This three-fold approach combined both quantitative and qualitative research approaches to provide a comprehensive and integrated understanding of training's relationship to strategic business planning.

Findings and Conclusions

(1) Do organizations that use training to support strategic planning have less severe strategic planning problems? According to the results, the answer seems to be an emphatic "Yes".

Each of the three strategic training roles, when examined individually, is a significant predictor of lower strategic planning problems: Role 1 ($R^2=.303$, $p<.0001$), Role 2 ($R^2=.2604$, $p<.0001$), and Role 3 ($R^2=.2822$, $p<.0001$) .[1]

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[1] The core of the research model underlying the study is the premise that two variables -- environmental turbulence and years of strategic planning -- are underlying indicators of the degree to which an organization encounters strategic planning problems. Each of the three strategic training roles are assumed to moderate the influence of these two variables upon strategic planning problems. As a result, the multiple regression procedures used in the primary study also included environmental turbulence and years of strategic planning as predictors of strategic planning problems, along with the three strategic training roles.

In addition, when the three strategic training roles are combined in a single regression equation, the final model explains almost 36% ($R^2=.3562$, $p<.0001$) of the variation in strategic planning problems. Approximately 28% of this variance in problems is accounted for by the strategic training roles. **This finding may constitute the most important result of the entire research project. It indicates that training may have the capability of impacting strategic planning problems by 28%.**

The follow-up study offered vivid examples of all three strategic training roles: (a) using the annual strategic planning process as the primary means for training needs assessment and curriculum development, (b) establishing internal consulting functions to identify the specific strategic issues of operating divisions, (c) facilitating parts of the strategic planning process, (d) customizing otherwise traditional training programs by incorporating strategic issues, (e) using environmental scanning to accumulate information to be used in plan formulation, (e) conducting "pre-strategic" training programs to help managers acquire the readiness for formal strategic planning, (f) designing and coordinating workshops in which top management communicates strategic plans and objectives, and (g) conducting training programs in implementing strategic change.

(2) Do certain strategic training roles help reduce planning problems more than the other roles? Yes, Role 1 (Increasing Strategic Readiness) appears to limit strategic planning problems more than do the other two roles. As noted, the model with Role 1 is able to explain about 30% of strategic planning problems, more than do the other two roles. In addition, when all three strategic training roles are included in a regression procedure, Role 1 (Increasing Strategic Readiness) alone accounts for well over half of the explanatory capability of the model.

Role 1 (Increasing Strategic Readiness) may have such a profound effect on the reduction of planning problems for two reasons: (a) Because it is tied to the readiness stage of strategic planning, Role 1 influences not just readiness problems, but also problems encountered during the two other stages in the strategic planning process, formulation and implementation; and (b) Role 1 has the capability of helping managers better address a comprehensive range of strategy issues and problems, not just those dealing with training.

(3) Do firms with more years of strategic planning experience use training to support strategic plans more than other companies? No, there appears to be no significant association between the number of years of strategic planning and the three strategic training roles, apparently refuting the hypothesized evolutionary nature of strategy-linked training.

Experience itself does not appear to cause companies to link training to their business plans. According to the follow-up study, other factors seem to be more important. These include (a) existence of a major business crisis that has compelled the organization to re-examine the firm's current effectiveness in strategic planning, (b) demonstrated commitment of the CEO or other senior level executive that training is an essential component of business success, (c) personal and professional orientations of HRD professionals who are business-oriented and strategically focused, (d) untraditional reporting relationships for the training function, (e) past histories of failed strategy implementation efforts that dramatized the need to consider training issues during future strategic planning, and (f) existence of a central business objective that clearly requires training's support for success.

Implications of the Study

This study provides the first solid, empirical support that strategy-linked training leads to strategic planning success. Training appears to have the capability of impacting strategic planning problems by about 28%. It indicates that all three strategic training roles are potential contributors to effective strategic planning, including Role 1 (Increasing Strategic Readiness), Role 2 (Improving Strategy Formulation), and Role 3 (Implementing Strategic Plans). However, it repeatedly underscores the potentially powerful impact of one of the three strategic training roles -- Role 1 (Increasing Strategic Readiness) -- upon the reduction of a wide range of strategic planning problems encountered by organizations.

For senior executives and middle managers, this research study argues for their increased personal support and public commitment to strategy-linked training as a competitive weapon. It requests that they value training not only when it provides immediate, short-term, bottom-line results. Instead, it urges that they embrace training as a central means of enhancing the firm's overall strategic readiness to adapt to increasingly turbulent environment conditions.

For human resource development (HRD) practitioners, this research study challenges them to become pioneers in the next frontier of HRD, becoming expert, not just in the execution of business plans through training, but also in the establishment of the climate, culture, and competence required for successful strategic change. This next HRD frontier requires a new breed of professional: one who fully uses training to help both top level executives and frontline contributors to think strategically and to understand the major strategic issues facing the organization; one who personally and actively participates in the development of strategic plans, even when uninvited; and one who exploits training's established capability to create competitive advantage through employee competence.

To equip HRD professionals to assume strategic roles, academic preparation needs to emphasize not only how best to facilitate the learning processes of the individual employee, but also how to be a catalyst for effective strategic planning and subsequent organizational change. Business-academic partnerships may provide the best means of preparing both managers and HRD professionals for their strategic roles since learning about strategic planning best occurs when it is embedded in and derives from intimate organizational experience formulating and implementing strategic plans.

Suggestions for Future Research

Specific recommendations include:

(1) Longitudinal studies devoted to understanding the complex processes through which strategy-linked training develops in organizations.

(2) Empirical examinations of the possible causes of the development of strategy-linked training, as identified in the follow-up study.

(3) Systematic research into the competencies required by HRD professionals, middle managers, and senior managers to maximize their contributions to strategic planning success.

(4) Comparisons of various learning and instructional approaches regarding their effectiveness in providing the strategic competencies needed by HRD professionals, middle managers, and senior managers.

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Deterrents to Participation in Compensatory Adult Education in South Africa

Kistammah Bergmann Reddy

Abstract: The purpose of this study was to identify the deterrent factors that deter educationally disadvantaged adults in the Natal Province, South Africa from participating in compensatory adult education programs. A Deterrents to Participation Scale (DPS-CC) instrument was developed and administered to 550 adults. 337 usable returns were used in data analysis. Principal components analysis yielded six orthogonal factors. These factors differ substantially from factors identified in prior research conducted in the United States.

Introduction and Background to Study

South African society is regulated by inequality and discrimination based on race. Inequality, entrenched in political and economic apartheid structures, is also reflected in educational provision for Black citizens. Decades of apartheid schooling have resulted in an inordinately large population of educationally disadvantaged adults who have less than twelve years of schooling.

Compensatory education classes are available on a limited basis to South Africans in both formal and nonformal sectors. Tragically, participation rates are low. Clearly, in the South African context a major deterrent is state power at the macro-structural level. It is conceivable that many Black South Africans refuse to participate in state-organized and financed adult education programs as a form of protest. Nevertheless, personal, situational and other factors do influence participation decisions.

Statement of the Problem

This study was a cross-cultural extension of research on deterrents to participation in organized adult education initiated in the United States by Scanlan and Darkenwald (1984). The research was designed to explore the nature of the deterrents construct for educationally disadvantaged South Africans. Previous research has shown that the deterrents approach is multi-dimensional and not bound to a tight theoretical framework.

Specific objectives of the study were: 1) To identify and measure the deterrents to participation in compensatory adult education for educationally disadvantaged adults in South Africa; 2) To identify the factor structure of the measured deterrent items; and 3) To determine the relationships between the deterrent factors and sociodemographic variables.

In this study educationally disadvantaged adults were defined as all Black (African, Indian and Colored) adults who had not completed twelve years of formal schooling.

METHODOLOGY

Instrumentation

A comprehensive list of deterrents was gathered through individual and group semi-structured interviews with non-participating adults. Using a purposive sampling strategy 32 interviewees were identified. A list of all possible deterrents was compiled from the interviews for the development of the instrument. A preliminary version of the Deterrents to Participation Scale-Form CC (DPS-CC) was constructed modelled on Deterrent to Participation scales developed in the United States. Two versions of the instrument, in English and in Zulu, were pretested and assessed for item clarity and functionality by 30 purposively selected respondents. The respondents' feedback and item and scale statistics were used to determine the 38 items included on the final instrument. The final questionnaire with a response scale of True, Partly True and Not True was worded in English, while those administered to African respondents included a Zulu translation. Attached to the final instrument was a socio-economic information sheet using ordinal scales. The alpha reliability coefficient of the final DPS-CC instrument was .86. Content validity of the instrument is evident in the attentive procedures used in the selection of items, and its design and construction.

Sampling and Data Collection Procedures

The target population for the study was African, Indian and Coloured adults over the age of sixteen who had not completed high school and were not attending evening classes. Due to various constraints, both contextual and personal, a random sampling of respondents was not feasible. Nine major low to medium income "group areas" in the Natal Province were targeted as primary research sites. A group area in South Africa is a racially designated area officially allocated for use by specific population groups. Although the use of a non random sample limits generalization of results to the entire educationally disadvantaged population in South Africa, it was considered more important in this exploratory study to ensure that all targeted population groups were represented.

Of the 550 questionnaires distributed, 348 were returned for a response rate of 60 percent. Of these, 337 usable returns were used in data analysis. The sociodemographic data gathered yielded the following description of the respondents: a majority of the sample (65%) were female; 60% were aged between 21 to 40; 60% were employed; 73% had between five and 10 years of prior formal schooling; Africans constituted the largest racial group in the sampling at 42%, Indians made up 36%, and Coloured 22%.

Data Analysis

Specific research objectives were addressed in the data analysis. Descriptive statistics were calculated for the total sample of respondents. Item means were used to rank deterrents according to their relative degree of influence. Deterrent scores for each item provided the data base for exploratory factor analysis to identify a factor structure. Derived factor scores were used to determine the correlations between factors and the sociodemographic variables.

Findings

Considering that jobs and social status in S. Africa are tied to educational certification, it wasn't surprising to find that "Going back to school was something I thought about but never did" was the deterrent receiving the highest overall rank. Using Cross's categorization (Cross, 1981) the second, third, eighth and ninth most highly ranked items were consistent with situational barriers to participation. Some dispositional types of barriers also ranked highly for this sample. Ranked low were problems of childcare, health problems and fear of failure, while the items considered least important as deterrents to participation included perceptions that compensatory schooling was of little importance, and that classes were not offered.

Factor Analysis

The second research objective was to explore the factor solution of the deterrents measured. Using principal components analysis, the initial factor solution was derived. Eleven factors were retained using the mineigan criterion for retention (an eigenvalue of 1.0 or greater). To reach a simpler and more interpretable solution, terminal factor solutions representing 2 through 8 components were computed using the Varimax procedures. The six factor orthogonal solution was selected as the most meaningful representation of the data after inspection of the rotated factor matrices. The six factors accounted for 49% of total scale variance. The items, factor loadings, item means and item ranking (1 - 38) for the six factors are presented in Table 1. Only those items with factor loadings of .40 or higher were used to define a factor. Only two items (Items 2 & 16) loaded substantially on more than one factor. Three items failed to load on any factor: (Item 13) "I always thought you must have passed Standard 6 or higher to attend evening classes." (Item 18) "There is no place at home to do homework or study for exams", and (Item 34) "I don't want to be the only man (woman) there."

Factor 1: Dispositional Constraints

The 12 items with substantial loadings on the first factor deal mainly with dispositional feelings of doubt about personal ability, lack of confidence and uncertainty due to age and the passing of time. Those items that refer to a lack of interest (Items 9 & 16), combined with what might be considered items pertaining to low-personal priority (Items 33 & 28), can be interpreted as being indirectly influenced by feelings of uncertainty and low self-esteem. All of these factors, therefore, were either dispositional in nature or assumed to be influenced by dispositional perceptions. The rankings of the items ranged from high to low, which suggests that some dispositional barriers were perceived as more influential than offers.

Factor 2: Personal Constraints

Five of the six items comprising this factor describe situational constraints of a personal nature. The variable with the highest loading (Item 20) was interpreted as a personal perception arising out of the broad cultural context within which educationally disadvantaged South Africans live. The items in this factor were rated fairly low indicating that this group of situational constraints is less influential for this population.

Factor 3: Lack of Infrastructural Support

The highest loading or "marker" variables for this factor refer to lack of support and encouragement in terms of counseling needs. The remaining items (Items 1, 11 & 2) are seemingly incongruent with the factor's interpretation of "Lack of Infrastructural Support", as indicated by the two marker variables. The only explanation that can be offered is that this population views these constraints as further indications of a lack of genuine commitment or support for compensatory education within the infrastructure. All the items in this factor were ranked among the ten most influential items on the scale which suggests that this factor constitutes an important deterrent for this population.

Factor 4: Lack of Course Relevance

Three of the five variables (Items 10, 14 & 38) comprising this factor clearly relate to a perceived lack of relevance. The other items (Items 16 & 19) can be viewed as a corollary of lack of relevance because of the perceived incongruence between the opportunities that are available and the respondents' needs and interests. Items were ranked in the moderate range.

Factor 5: Work Constraints

Five of the six items in this factor reflect directly on the respondents' work situation and demands. The remaining item (Item 25) correlated significantly with the other items because various work-related constraints might explain why respondents who thought about attending classes were not able to follow through. Items were ranked from highly to moderately influential.

Factor 6: Informational Barriers

The broad interpretation of this factor was based primarily on the first and third variables (Items 3 & 2). It was established prior to the study that night schools were available in all the targeted residential areas, therefore these perceptions most likely resulted from a lack of information about the classes. The remaining item (Item 8) was interpreted as a perception resulting from lack of information.

Relationship of Factors to Sociodemographic Variables

When standardized factor scores were correlated with sociodemographic variables a number of significant correlations were found. Factor 1, Dispositional Constraints, correlated positively to age and employment status, and negatively with level of education and race (Africans were more likely to be deterred by dispositional constraints). Factor 2, Personal Constraints, correlated negatively with age and race and positively with being employed, meaning that younger, employed Africans are more likely to be deterred by personal constraints. Factor 3, Lack of Infrastructural Support, correlated positively with level of education and negatively with employment status. Factor 4, Lack of Relevance, correlated positively with being male, and negatively with age. Factor 5, Work Constraints, correlated with level of education. Factor 6, Informational Barriers, correlated positively with level of education.

Although some of the relationships are difficult to interpret, most of the relationships were anticipated and thus provide support for the construct validity of the DPS-CC. Age and levels of education correlations were consistent with previous research findings in the adult education field. Low self confidence and doubt about ability are significant deterrents to participation for older adults with low levels of education. Younger adults are more likely to be deterred by their personal situations and family responsibility. Race correlations were anticipated given the South African context. Although Indians and Coloured are also victims of Apartheid practices, Africans are the most victimized racial group in the country. Therefore, it was anticipated that Africans would be most affected by dispositional and situational barriers to participation.

Conclusions

This study was based on the assumption that the socio-cultural environment within which educationally disadvantaged South Africans live strongly influences their participation decisions. The findings of this study support this assumption. The results of the factor analysis of the DPS-CC were consistent with past research in providing support for the multidimensionality of the deterrent construct. The factors identified with the DPS-CC differed from the factors identified by previous research on deterrents. Given that the study population of the cross-cultural DPS-CC differed substantially from the sub-populations of previous studies on deterrents, this outcome was anticipated. None of the deterrent factors found for the DPS-LL (Hayes and Darkenwald, 1986) were replicated in this study. Only one factor "Lack of Relevance", was also identified in the generic DPS-G study (Darkenwald and Valentine, 1985). Similarly, only one factor, "Work Constraints", was identified by the DPS study (Scanlan and Darkenwald, 1984).

This study has extended research on deterrents to participation to a non-Western setting, and to South Africa in particular. There has been no systematic study done in South Africa on compensatory adult education. It is timely to begin establishing a reliable knowledge base on compensatory education because the country is on the brink of considerable social and political transformation. The focus on deterrents to adult participation in compensatory education draws attention to a rarely examined issue in Africa and other developing nations where basic literacy has necessarily been given priority.

Moreover, the focus on deterrents has relevance for understanding the pattern of nonparticipation by adult learners at all levels so that more learner responsive adult education provisions can be made.

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TABLE 1

ITEM NO.	VARIABLE	FACTOR LOADING	ITEM MEAN	ITEM RANK
	FACTOR 1: DISPOSITIONAL CONSTRAINTS			
29	I don't think I will be able to cope with studying again after so long	.76	2.03	11
17	It is too late for me to learn	.75	1.75	27
6	It is too much of a problem to start schooling all over again	.71	2.04	10
7	I am better off without going to evening classes	.63	1.54	37
31	I am embarrassed to go after so many years	.59	1.83	22
33	I have my family and housework to take care of	.59	1.73	29
9	I never thought of going to evening classes	.56	2.12	7
37	At my age I don't like going to classes in a school building	.54	1.80	25
35	I am afraid of failing	.53	1.69	31
28	With evening classes I haven't got time to spend with my family and to rest	.51	2.00	14
26	I am scared to start from scratch again	.50	1.99	15
16	I am not interested in furthering my schooling	.49	1.86	20
	FACTOR 2: PERSONAL CONSTRAINTS			
20	Only men (women) go to these classes	.68	1.64	32
30	My husband (wife) refused to allow me to go	.61	1.71	30
5	There is no one to look after my children	.60	1.63	33
22	I am frightened to go out at night	.58	1.86	19
27	I have no one to go with me	.53	1.94	16
21	I have health problems	.51	1.60	34

	FACTOR 3: INFRASTRUCTURAL SUPPORT			
32	There is no one to encourage me to go	.71	2.15	6
12	There is no one to advise me on what to do or how to go back to finish my schooling	.65	2.21	4
1	I don't have transport	.48	2.25	3
11	It costs too much money to go to evening classes	.46	2.06	9
2	There are no evening classes near where I live	.46	2.28	2
	FACTOR 4: LACK OF RELEVANCE			
10	They do not offer any classes that teach skills to get a better job	.68	1.82	23
16	I am not interested in furthering my schooling	.57	1.86	20
14	The schools don't have the equipment to teach the subjects that I am interested in	.56	1.93	18
19	I heard that people go but the teachers don't turn up	.54	1.75	28
38	The subjects I want to learn are not offered	.51	1.83	21
	FACTOR 5: WORK CONSTRAINTS			
15	There isn't time to do homework or practice what is taught in the classes	.65	2.00	13
23	After working all day I am too tired to go	.56	2.17	5
25	Going back to school was just something I thought about, but never did	.53	2.38	1
36	I have thought about going to classes, but there is too much pressure at work	.51	1.93	17
4	The classes are held at a time when I cannot go	.49	2.07	8
24	I prefer going to classes during the day or weekends	.46	2.02	12
	FACTOR 6: INFORMATION BARRIERS			
3	I haven't heard of evening classes	.66	1.57	35
8	There is a shortage of teachers	.53	1.52	38
2	There are no evening classes near where I live	.42	2.28	2

What Do Adult College Students Want in An Instructor?
A Triangulated Study of Three Diverse Samples

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Abstract:

This study reanalyzed data from three independent research projects using qualitative methods to examine adult college students' perceptions of effective teaching. The findings support recent research indicating that such students show preferences for both student-centered and teacher-directed learning. Group comparisons also revealed differences related to age, gender, and student status.

Theoretical Perspectives and Objectives

The traditional student in higher education becomes an increasing rarity as more and more students manifest one or more characteristics which mark them as nontraditional. Students 25 years of age or older have also become commonplace, representing over 40% of the college student population (National Center for Education Statistics, 1988). The experiences and perspectives such students bring to higher education may significantly affect their notions of what constitutes good or poor teaching. If learning styles and/or expectations of adult college students differ in important ways from those of younger students, it is important for college faculty to be aware of these differences.

Faculty development programs are one suggested approach to improving the institutional environment for adults. Some who plan faculty development programs focusing on teaching have incorporated research on students' perspectives of effective teaching. A large body of literature on traditional students' perceptions of good teaching suggests commonly selected characteristics in ratings or descriptions of effective teachers (Feldman, 1988).

Many look to adult learning theory, including the work of Malcolm Knowles (1980, 1984), for suggestions regarding the teaching of adults in higher education. Yet, contrary to predictions based either in adult learning theory or research on younger students, recent studies looking at teaching preferences suggest adult students in higher education exhibit preferences both for teacher-directed and learner-centered instruction (Scheckley, 1988; Tracy & Schuttenberg, 1986).

The purpose of this research was to continue a program of research examining adult college students' reported perceptions of effective teaching in comparison to expectations based on adult learning theory. To gain additional insight regarding the robustness of previous findings, data from each of three independently conducted projects were reanalyzed using a common coding scheme. These data had been collected at three different universities (two midwestern, one northeastern).

Data Collection and Analysis

Original Data Collection

Data were originally collected using three different samples and three data collection strategies, each providing open-ended comments that could be subjected to content analysis. Letters nominating faculty for an excellence in off-campus teaching award at a large, midwestern research university provided one source of data (Donaldson, 1988z, 1988b). One hundred seventy-six student letters submitted by graduates and undergraduates (mean age=42) were analyzed.

Interviews in which students were asked to described "an instructor you would identify as outstanding" provided the second source of data (Flannery, 1989). Interview data was obtained from 68 graduate students (mean age=32.5) attending a large midwestern university.

Questionnaires soliciting open-ended descriptions of critical classroom incidents (Flanagan, 1953) that made a particular instructor stand out in their minds as "a superior teacher of adults" provided a third source of data (Ross, 1989). Responses from 181 undergraduates (mean age=31) attending the main campus of a large northeastern university were analyzed.

In preparation for an earlier symposium at a conference of the American Educational Research Association, six characteristics of effective teachers were identified as common denominators across the three studies. These findings would appear to have strong content validity given they were discovered inductively using fortuitous triangulation of data collection methods and informants (Denzin, 1978). Comparability of the studies, however, was limited due to the use of distinct content analysis schemes.

Data Reanalysis

For the purposes of this study students' original open-ended statements about particularly effective instructors were reanalyzed. Content analysis focused on thematic units (Krippendorf, 1980). Those characteristics of the teacher or teaching-learning process that appeared among the fifteen top-ranked items across all three original studies served as a starter code list. A research assistant not previously involved in either study was asked to read a randomly selected set of responses constituting 25% of the data available for each study. Through this process additional thematic codes were identified, bringing the code list to a total of 37 items. Definitions for each item were written jointly by three members of the team. The research assistant returned to code all narrative statements (written by student or interview transcripts) using the agreed-upon themes.

To facilitate a check of inter-rater reliability a second reader coded approximately 25% of the data. The overall percent of agreement between raters was 92.39%.

Results and Conclusions

Data obtained from 402 adult students were analyzed for this study. One hundred fifty-three of the participants were male (38.1%), 225 were female (56.0%). Students ranged in age from 24 to 77, with a mean age of 35.5. One hundred eighty-seven were undergraduates (46.5%) and 193 were graduate students (48.0%). In a number of cases demographic data could not be ascertained, particularly for students writing letters of nomination.

Most Frequently Mentioned Items

Characteristics of the faculty member and the teaching-learning interaction most frequently discussed by students across the three data sources were: (1) [being] knowledgeable, (2) [showing] concern for students as learners, (3) presenting material clearly, (4) motivating students, (5) empathizing relevance of subject matter, (6) [showing] enthusiasm, (7) encouraging student participation, (8) creating a comfortable learning atmosphere, (9) [being] personally well-organized, and (10) using a variety of techniques. All of these items were mentioned by at least 15% of the recombined sample.

Group Comparisons

Differences related to gender, age group, or student status (graduate or undergraduate) were explored using chi-square procedures (SPSS^X). Respondents for whom information on gender, age, or student status were missing were not included in these analyses, reducing the sample size to 378 for gender and student status and 370 for age group.

Significantly more women than men mentioned the instructor's role as a good role model (see table). Significantly more women than men also mentioned the instructor's flexibility in making adjustments based on the unique role and time demands of adult students (see table). Women's greater level of interest in instructor flexibility might be explained by research indicating returning women students receive greater emotional support form their families than instrumental support (Rice, 1982). Their greater emphasis on role modeling is not as easily explained, although recent discussion of women's interest in connected knowing may be linked (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1985).

Age group comparisons were made after dividing respondents into five age groups at approximate five-year intervals (24-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40-44, 45 +). Respondents over 45 were aggregated to avoid cell sizes smaller than five, which would violate the assumptions for the chi-square analysis (Reynolds, 1984). Age group differences were found in the frequency with which five items were mentioned: (1) knowledge of instructor, (2) motivating students, (3) adapting to meet diverse needs, (4) dedication, and (5) presenting material clearly. Persons 24 - 29 years of age mentioned knowledge of the instructor, adapting to diverse needs, and dedication less frequently than expected, and mentioned clear presentation of material more frequently than expected. At the other end of the age continuum, persons over 45 mentioned dedication of the instructor and instructor's ability to motivate students to their best performance more frequently than expected.

A number of differences between graduates and undergraduates were indicated by the data. Graduates were more likely than undergraduates (see table) to mention: (1) the instructor's knowledge level, (2) course organization, (2) personal organization of the instructor, (4) success of the instructor in motivating students, (5) instructor's encouragement of active learning, (6) instructor open-mindedness, (7) adaptation to student needs, (8) dedication, (9) good role modeling, and (10) facilitation rather than transmission of information. The exploratory nature of this finding is made more tentative by investigators' concern that these observed differences may in part be an artifact of the different data collection modes. It should be noted that respondents to the critical incidents questionnaire were all undergraduates; interview transcripts recorded interviews with graduate students only; while nomination letters came from undergraduates (15.2%), graduates (72.8%), and students not identified by student status (11.9%).

Educational or Scientific Importance of the Research

There is good news in the findings of this study, both for researchers hoping to see empirical validation of adult learning theory and for those assisting faculty in adapting their teaching to an adult student audience. The later group will be reassured to observe that 11 of our top 15 ranked items also appear among the top 22 items reported by Feldman (1988) in meta-analysis of research on characteristics perceived as important to good teaching by faculty and undergraduate students. This suggests that college instructors need not learn a completely new set of strategies to work effectively with adult learners. Given the increasing integration of adults into "mainstream" higher education programs with "traditional" age students, it is useful to know that both types of students will value many of the same teaching characteristics.

The findings are also consistent with other recent studies of adult students in higher education, confirming preferences for both learner-centered and teacher-directed learning. Expectations for knowledgeable instructors who present material clearly, who motivate students and who are personally well-organized reflect adult students' preferences for aspects of traditional classrooms. Similar characteristics have been found in other studies which note that adult students prefer environments in which the teacher organizes the class (Darkenwald & Merriam, 1982), gives specific information on assignments, and determines class content (Tracy & Schuttenberg, 1986). At the same time, expectations associated with adult settings also appear in our findings. The respondents in this study cited the importance of relevance of material, of a comfortable learning atmosphere, adaptation to diverse student needs, and use of a variety of techniques. Brockett (1985) suggested that even when adult students are apprehensive about assuming major responsibilities for learning, they do appreciate the opportunity to select learning activities that fit their backgrounds and interests. Literature on adult learners has noted the importance of meaningfulness of learning and activities to adults (Knowles, 1980; Sakata, 1984). Rather than providing unqualified support for Knowles' generalized assumptions abut adult learners, however, these findings from higher education seem more in keeping with recent discussions of situational andragogy (Pratt, 1988). In addition to learner variables such as learning styles (Scheckley, 1988), diverse backgrounds (Pratt, 1988), gender (Beer & Darkenwald, 1989), age (Tracy & Schuttenberg), and student status (current study), the context of study for credit within higher education may in itself influence adult learner expectations.

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Statistically Significant Chi-Square Tests of Independence for Instructional Attributes versus Student Characteristics

Attribute	Gender	Student Status	Age
Knowledgeable		X = 66.94 df = 1 p = .000	X = 11.27 df = 4 p = .024
Organizes course		X = 15.77 df = 1 p = .000	
Personally well-organized		X = 17.63 df = 1 p = .000	
Motivating		X = 5.13 df = 1 p = .023	X = 11.96 df = 4 p = .018
Variety of techniques		X = 8.78 df = 1 p = .003	
Encourages active learning		X = 5.87 df = 1 p = .015	
Open-minded		X = 4.45 df = 1 p = .035	
Adapts to meet needs		X = 6.77 df = 1 p = .009	X = 12.10 df = 4 p = .017
Dedicated		x = 11.88 df = 1 p = .000	X = 11.78 df = 4 p = .019
Good role model	X = 8.96 df = 1 p = .002	X = 15.77 df = 1 p = .000	

Facilitates (vs. transmits)		X = 4.69 df = 1 p = .030	
Flexible	X = 9.56 df = 1 p = .002		
Presents clearly			X = 16.09 df = 4 p = .003

HILDA WORTHINGTON SMITH:
PIONEER EDUCATOR FOR WOMEN WORKERS

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Abstract: Hilda Worthington Smith was an activist adult educator. As director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers, she pioneered teaching strategies designed to empower the powerless to improve lives for all workers. If we can catch her vision, perhaps we can transform work and education setting as well.

During the first half of this century, women contributed to the education of women and men through the Chautauqua movement, libraries, social settlements, voter education, religious and other organizations. At least 80 women educators of adults have been identified in the literature, but very little is mentioned about their ideas and work as contributions to the development of the field of adult education (Bernhardt, 1988).

To provide an accurate account of the contributions of women as adult educators, an extensive analysis of historical literature is needed. We chose Hilda Worthington Smith as the initial educator for our research because of the significance of her work with working women and the abundance of material about her ideas and accomplishments.

"[Smith] is a unique combination of the visionary, the realistic activist, and the pioneer, guided always by an unshakable common sense which never permits her to substitute ideology, conventional wisdom or lofty principles for the direct approach to meeting a clearly perceived human need. Above all, she brings out the best in other people through her genuine warmth of feeling, her imaginative insight into their potentialities, her belief and trust in them, and her sense of the wholeness and richness of life which has made her insist that poetry and astronomy are as relevant to workers' education as are economics and public speaking." (Ware, 1977, p. x)

Hilda Worthington Smith was born June 19, 1888 into a socially conscious family. Her father was involved in the home-heating business which had prospered allowing the family to own a 39-acre summer estate on the banks of the Hudson River. As a result of her parents work with the poor in New York City, Smith was acquainted early with the New York tenements. She knew the plight of the men, women, and children who worked long hours for poor wages in unsafe, unhealthy factories; she observed the difficulties the thousands of immigrants, with little or no English, encountered as they tried to make their way in a new country. She saw the discouragement and hopelessness of the unemployed (Mastrangelo, 1979).

As a privileged woman, Smith attended private schools and college at Bryn Mawr where she was active in student government. She received two master's degrees, one in psychology and ethics from Bryn Mawr and the other in social work from the New York School of Social Work. Smith also directed a community center, changing it from a patronizing organization to a community-run project based on neighborhood needs. To learn the needs and interests of the community, Smith rode her bicycle around the neighborhood and personally talked with residents (Goldfarb, 1977). In 1919, Smith accepted the position of Dean of Bryn Mawr College, her first professional position.

Director, Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers

From 1921-1933, Smith was the Director of the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Women Workers held at the college from 1921-1938. Smith's writings tell us about the women and the conditions of their work, the school curriculum and teaching strategies, and some of the difficulties of conducting such a school.

Under Smith's leadership, the format of the school became nonhierarchical and nontraditional for that time. Students were given much decision-making power. Controversy during discussions was encouraged. Students and tutors worked collaboratively on the English and economics curriculum which was integrated into a coherent whole. Application of learning to employment and personal situations back home was emphasized (Kornbluh, 1987). Even the beauty of the Bryn Mawr campus was an advantage for learning; the trees, gardens and grassy areas were like heaven for some of the urban women who rarely saw such greenery.

Diversity was valued. Each summer, one hundred women from different geographic, occupation and ethnic backgrounds attended the school; this difference was one of the strengths of the school in Smith's opinion. Each woman had ideas and experience to share and to learn from others.

The faculty were interested in helping the women learn and were eager to develop innovations that might better prepare the students. Two particular strategies illustrate this. Initially classes were structured with students moving from one class to another. Students found this arrangement and the variety of teachers they had to deal with confusing. After discussion, the teachers came up with the idea of placing students in learning groups of about 20 students with similar abilities in reading. The three teachers assigned to each group would plan and carry out the curriculum for the group. A battery of tests was given all students before classes actually began to facilitate the placement process. When the students were consulted about this arrangement, they gave it their enthusiastic support. This format was tried the next year and was successful (Smith, 1927).

The second strategy was in physical education. Women were asked to demonstrate the physical movements they performed on their jobs. The physical education staff then developed and practiced with the women different movements that were less stressful and tiring on their bodies, yet would accomplish the task. The staff of the school also recognized that the future held more leisure time for the workers so they arranged swimming and tennis lessons for those who wanted them in order to give them new activities with which to use their new leisure time (Smith, 1929).

Much of what happened at the school was designed to help the woman back home in her work and life situation. Economics course would help them understand work situations. All courses and activities centered around a theme that was relevant to the students' employment situation. For example, an important aspect of one session was to obtain the new industrial codes coming out of Washington and analyze them to discern the code's effect on each student's workplace. To assure that the current information was available, as well as have input into the hearings, faculty would travel to Washington from time to time to attend hearings and report on the proceedings. With this information well understood, upon returning to their workplaces, the students were able to explain these codes to the other workers, discuss what the implications were for their situation, and encourage the shop owners to make the changes required by these new laws (Smith, 1933).

Smith's yearly reports of the Summer School contain many references to art, drama, role-playing, natural science and social science laboratory work, trips to nearby industrial plants and factories, special speakers, and use of other creative means to increase the students' understanding of the workers situation and empower students to learn. The goal was to give the women sufficient understanding, skill, and confidence to influence the working conditions when they returned to their places of employment (Kornbluh, 1987; Smith, 1933).

Bryn Mawr was not the only summer school for women; The University of Wisconsin, The Southern School (near Asheville, North Carolina), and Barnard College of New York City developed schools following the Bryn Mawr plan. In 1926, Smith became director of the Affiliation of Summer Schools, a position which she capably filled until 1933. The Affiliation encouraged cooperation in recruiting students, developing funding sources, creating curriculum, and visits among the schools for the women.

Specialist in Workers' Education

Kornbluh (1987) identifies Progressive theoreticians and practitioners including Dewey, Keppel, Fisher, and Lindeman, as being influential in preparing the ground for the policies of the New Deal's Emergency Education Program; then she states, "None, however, rivaled the influence of Hilda Worthington Smith" (p. 16). Smith headed the Works Progress Administration's Workers Education Service from 1933 to 1942.

One of Smith's accomplishments was the development of training programs for unemployed teachers to provide jobs for them teaching general workers education. More than 2000 unemployed teachers were trained in methods for teaching adults, the purposes of workers' education, and some of the legislation having to do with workers in industry. Smith patterned this training after that which she instituted at the Bryn Mawr Summer School (Kornbluh, 1987).

Another innovation came in response to the Civilian Conservation Corps in which men were given manual labor jobs. Smith observed that many women were on relief and needed jobs and housing for the same reasons. In 1934, she successfully instituted 28 month-long camps where 70-80 women on relief were served good meals, learned about hygiene, and received experience in democratic living. The following year, 48 camps were opened. The She-She-She camps, as they were called, were discontinued abruptly in 1937 when Congress looked for ways to cut the expensive New Deal programs. Smith wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt,

". . . The CCC camps with their millions of dollars for wages, educational work, travel and supervision constantly remind me of what we might do for women from these same families. As is so often the case, the boys get the breaks, the girls are neglected. Even though similar plans for women are more difficult to develop, I do not believe they should be discarded as impossible." (Ware, 1981, p. 114).

After 1942 when the WPA was abolished, Smith worked with projects promoting housing, labor education and services for the elderly. Much less information about the latter years of Smith's life is assessable.

Smith's Ideas about Adult Education

Hilda Smith's ideas about adult education are found in her correspondence to Eleanor Roosevelt, articles in journals such as Journal of Adult Education, Adult Education, American Federationist, and Survey, reports to agencies, and a book of poetry. Her personal papers are kept in the archives of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y., and in the Schlesinger Library, Cambridge, Mass. These collections were not used in this research because of time and financial constraints. In articles written from 1922-1942, Smith puts forth such ideas as:

(A) Worker education offers persons a chance to study current economic questions that are closely related to their daily lives as workers and citizens.

(B) Groups and individuals can focus power to develop intelligent action to change unacceptable living and working conditions.

(C) Adults come to learning experiences with barriers and motivators that require special teaching strategies and understandings.

(D) Adults learn best in an atmosphere with the least possible feeling of constraint.

It will be useful to note some of Smith's ideas in her own words.

The Purpose of Workers' Education: "Workers' education, in common with general adult education of which it is a part, recognized the desire of grown-up students for teaching methods and approaches suitable for mature persons . . . workers' education is specially adapted to the needs and interests of wage earners. It offers to men and women in industry and in other occupations a chance to study those current economic questions that are closely related to their daily lives as workers and citizens. Workers' education, having grown out of the educational needs of the labor movement, must necessarily help workers meet their responsibilities, not only as individuals but also as numbers of the organizations of their own choosing and under their own control." (Smith, 1935, p. 241-242)

The Value of the Individual: "We believe in the power of the individual, and in his [sic] ability to develop and to contribute something of use to others. No one need be useless, no talent should go undiscovered. In addition, we believe in the power of groups, and what may be achieved through work through responsible, intelligent group action. To learn to work together in groups becomes, therefore, a cornerstone of workers' education, as it is a foundation of all democracy." (Smith, 1941)

About Students: "Many of these men and women . . . have not been able to develop habits of study. The ordinary textbook is a mystery to them because of its vocabulary." (Smith, 1934, p. 119)

"Students came from hard-working conditions, long hours of monotony, afraid to move without asking permission. The school physician said they were exhausted after months of overwork and insufficient food. By the end of summer, having learned their lessons well, the women returned to the sweatshops to demand that the owners establish restrooms, provide fire exits, install more toilets and renovate filthy lunch rooms." (Mastrangelo, 1979)

"Wild flowers, weeds and leaf specimens form a changing exhibit in the hallway, and who can measure the new knowledge gained each day by the eager spectators? It is a moving sight to see a city-born girl, long handicapped by factory and home conditions, come into the laboratory with a joyous look in her eyes, and in her arms a great bunch of what she calls her 'don't forget-me-nots.'" (Smith, 1929, p. 19)

About Curriculum: "The trend in curriculum and teaching has been toward concentration on a few subjects of study during the two months and on correlation of material from related fields of knowledge, the whole process of teaching becoming more and more allied to the interests of the students and their actual problems in industrial life." (Smith, 1930, p. 441)

Conclusion

While silence about one's self is common in women's writing, Smith neither mentions her accomplishments nor does she publicly complain about hardships. Even in correspondence (Smith, July 12, 1933) with M. Carey Thomas, President of Bryn Mawr, when she is detailing the failing financial structure of the summer school, she says, "Although this letter sounds very gloomy, we are not discouraged by the work itself and the new opportunities which everyday are opening before us." Her vision of the importance of the school takes priority.

She must have been a marvelous storyteller. Her articles about the Bryn Mawr school contain moving anecdotes portraying caring, eagerness, and love of life in the students, despite their oppressed working conditions. Smith also wrote poetry in which we can recognized what must have been some of her frustrations and joys.

Smith had a vision; education was one way of helping women and men become concerned citizens. She lobbied, wrote memos and letters, kept meetings and appointments, traveled, made speeches. She did all she could think of to enlist people and funds to the cause of workers' education. She kept before her and her listeners the importance and the empowerment that resulted in individual lives moving beyond doing a job to educating others and working for change.

I (Jean Saul) am fascinated by Smith's commitment to innovation, her courage in challenging officials and agencies to extend their vision to include women workers, and her faith in the process of learning to empower persons. With her leadership, faculty and staff were empowered to create conditions for and methods of teaching so that women workers could know the joy of learning and improving themselves. Women workers were empowered to expand their interests, to increase their skills, and to become change agents in their own communities.

Whenever I read the accounts of Hilda Smith and the women workers, I have two questions: "Who are the 'women workers' of today? and "Who are the Hilda Smiths of the 1990s?" The first is easier to address than the second. Actually, women workers are still many of the poor and illiterate, but of different nationalities, in different locations and occupations-the El Salvadorans, the Hmongs, the Mexicans, the homeless. Adult educators can learn much from further study of Hilda Smith's ideas, personal struggles, and commitment to practical and empowering education for women workers.

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EDUCATION AND WORKING CLASS RADICALISM: THE IMMIGRANT ORIGINS OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM

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Abstract: American socialism has its roots in an artisan culture transported to the United States largely by German immigrants. These immigrants created workers' clubs, education associations and newspapers which spread socialism throughout the American working class.

Artisan Culture and the German Roots of American Socialism

Numerous historians have commented on the critical role artisans played in the development of the nineteenth century working class. Many of the artisan customs had their origins in craft traditions dating from the time when guilds defined the artisans world. However, by the early nineteenth century the guilds had been destroyed and due to the industrial revolution, the artisan's world was in a state of flux. The influence of the French revolution had lead many of these artisans to gravitate to radical democratic creeds. This political tradition, called Jacobinism, combined with craft traditions was to play an important role in the development of the working class in both Germany and the United States.[1]

Journeymen skilled workers, those who had not or could not achieve the rank of master, created a culture in which movement (or "tramping"), self-education, political activism, and craft traditions played an important role in one's life. Throughout Europe and the United States artisans worked and moved from place to place. Literate and often worldly, artisans sometimes hired one of their own compatriots to read to them while the others worked. Some artisan groups even taxed themselves to form libraries.[2]

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[1] See Bryan D. Palmer, "'Most Uncommon Common Men': Craft and Culture in Historical Perspective," Labour/Le Travailleur 1 (1976) pp. 5-31; Sean Wilentz, "Artisan Origins of the American Working Class," International Labor and Working Class History 19 (Spring 1981), 1-22; Herbert Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919", American Historical Review 78 (June, 1973). pp. 531-588. Wilentz' Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1977-1850 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Stanley Nadel, "From the Barricades of Paris to the Sidewalks of New York: German Artisans and the Roots of American Labor Radicalism," Labor History 30 (Winter 1989), pp. 47-75. For artisans in Germany see Wolfgang Renzsch, Handwerker und Lohnarbeiter in der fruhen Arbeiterbewegung: Zur sozialen Basis von Gewrkschaften und Sozialdemokratie in Reichsgrundungsjahrzehnt (Gottingen: Kritische Studien zur Geschictswissenschaft, vol. 43, 1980).

[2] Palmer, "Most Uncommon Common Men," pp. 5-12; Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society," pp. 555-561.

For German artisans, the Wanderjahr, a remnant of the pre-industrial era, was a year of travel in which one's craft was to be perfected by traveling and working in different cities and towns throughout Europe. By the 1820s Paris had become an important stopping place for many German artisans of various trades. They went there because French artisans were reputed to be the most respected in Europe. Paris was home to as many as 40,000 German artisans by the 1840s; it was one of the larger "German" cities of the time. While there, the German artisans also learned the language of social revolution. Paris in the 1830s was aswirl with the radical social republicanism of Saint Simon, Luis Blanc, and Fourier. Profoundly influenced by the then secret French workers' clubs, the Germans began to organize their own societies. The first Arbeitervereine (workers' clubs) were founded in Paris in the 1830's. It was here that the German workers "sang, drank and talked politics, the socialist note dominating the conversations."[3]

German workers founded such secret societies as the Bund der Gerechten (League of the Just), one of whose members was Karl Marx. Later former members of the League of the Just formed the Londoner Bildungsverein (workers' education association) of which Marx and Friedrich Engels became its most prominent members.[4] By the 1840s workers' clubs had spread throughout German speaking lands. Reading and study groups were founded to discuss radical ideas in Berlin and other German cities. The Berlin Artisans' Union held discussions and lectures and had almost 2,000 members. In Hamburg, the Educational Society for the Improvement of the Working Classes had over five hundred members.[5]

However, the center of the German workers' movement, especially by the mid-1840s, was Switzerland. Here the policy of many Swiss cantons was reasonably tolerant towards workers' organizations and tramping German artisans. It was here that the German artisans formed singing societies, reading groups, and educational clubs. Geneva had a Bildungs und Unterichtsverein (education and lecture club) which had its own dining hall and library and offered instruction in singing, natural science and French. Numerous Arbeiterlesevereine (workers' reading clubs) sprang up in other Swiss cities.

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[3] Arnold Ruge, Swei Jahre in Paris (Leipzig, 1846); Nadel, "From the Barricades of Paris to the Sidewalks of New York," pp. 48-52; Carl Wittke, The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth Century Reformer (Baton Rouge, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), pp. 18-19. Quotation cited in P.H. Noyes, Organization and Revolution: Working-class Associations in the German Revolution of 1848-1849 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 50.

[4] Wittke, Utopian Communist, pp. 20-23; Isaiah Berlin, Karl Marx: His life and Environment (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 159-164; Stan Shipley, Club-life and Socialism in Mid-Victorian London (London: Journeymen Press, 1983).

[5] Ernest Schrapler, Handwerkerbunde und Arbeitervereine, 1830-1853 (Berlin, 1972) pp. 30-100; Noyes, Organization and Revolution, pp. 44, 48.

The activities of the clubs varied greatly, but they had several elements in common. Most clubs had some educational and formal social programs and existed as places were German artisans could gather to drink beer, sing, read the copies of radical newspapers and publications available, and discuss current ideas. These clubs formed the basis of German artisan culture and became the cornerstone for much of the political activities of the German workers' movement in the 1848 revolution.[6]

It was this culture, born hundreds of years ago in craft traditions, deeply threatened by the rise of capitalism, radicalized in Paris and fought for in the revolution of 1848, that the German artisans brought with them to the United States.

German Settlement in the United States

It would be an oversimplification to state that the large scale German immigration of the late 1840s and 1850s was due to the failure of the 1848 revolution. A more reasonable assessment would be that most immigrants left Germany due to economic conditions exacerbated by the failed revolution. However, a significant group of refugees who were exiles because of their direct involvement in the revolution of 1848 and among those were radical artisans whose Jacobin ideas were representative of a culture which had a radical, democratic vision of society based on equal liberties and social rights.[7]

The German immigration changed the face of the United States. Between 1850 and 1900 Germans were approximately 25% of all the foreign-born in the United States.[8] The result of this geographical settlement was the transformation of parts of cities, counties and towns into German regions. Some of the largest American cities began to take on a German flavor. For example, in New York in 1860 there were already over 119,000 persons born in the German states. In Milwaukee and St. Louis more than 30% of the entire population were Germans. In Chicago, Buffalo, and

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[6] Herman Schlutter, Die Anfange der deutschen Arbeiter-bewegung in Amerika (Stuttgart: J.H.W. Dietz. 1907) pp. 17-19; Noyes, Organization and Revolution, pp. 34-51. Renzsch, Handwerker in der fruhen Arbeiterbewegung, pp. 5-15.

[7] See Eric J. Hobsbawm, The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848 (New York: New American Library, 1975); E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (New York; Vintage Books, 1963.) especially 10-14; Palmer, "Uncommon Common Men, pp. "5-31. For the American background of Jacobinism see Alfred F. Young, ed. The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism (Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976).

[8] From 1890 to 1920 Germans were the largest element among first generation immigrants. Harvard Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups. Stephen Ternstrom and Ann Orlov, eds. (Cambridge, Mass, 1980), p. 406.

Cincinnati, Germans accounted for more than 20% of the cities' population.[9]

Many artisans brought the ideas swirling around a revolutionary Europe with them to the United States. An effective way of tracing these connections is to examine the careers of two prominent radicals, Wilhelm Weitling and Joseph Weydemeyer. Weitling is important because of his renown as a leading socialist and his extensive travels throughout the U.S. to promote his vision of a socialist society. Weydemeyer is important because he introduced Marxist thought to the United States.

From Europe to the U.S.: The Early Socialists

Wilhelm Weitling was a tramping journeyman tailor, philosopher, and untiring proponent of Handwerkerkommunismus (artisan communism), a form of utopian communism. For a time, Weitling was the most well known of all German socialists; he certainly was more well known than his rival Karl Marx. Weitling published numerous books on artisan communism which were popular within radical circles and these books were translated into several languages.

Roaming throughout Europe, Weitling organized workers clubs in order to popularize his revolutionary ideas. The clubs' programs were generally standard. Each member was expected to spread the word of socialism throughout his circle of acquaintances and to report on his activities to the group. The clubs usually subscribed to several radical journals and newspapers and reports of other activities were dutifully reported. The largest amount of time was devoted to reading, discussion of local and philosophical issues and debate. The overriding purpose of these clubs organized or influenced by Weitling was educational. Weitling hoped to build a core of educated, dedicated workers in order to form the basis of the (for Weitling the inevitable) revolution.

Harassed by the authorities, and after a serious falling out with Marx, Weitling emigrated to the United States in 1847. He quickly went about organizing his Arbeitervereinen in German communities throughout the United States. Here he started a newspaper, organized workers' clubs, and even formed a national federation of workers. The constitution of this Arbeiterbund (as the association was called) advocated free public schools from kindergarten through the university, better pay for teachers who were to be elected by the people, complete divorce of school and church, creation of public libraries, education for workers in the evening and Sundays, instruction in English, the development of reading clubs, and bookstores. The Philadelphia Arbeiterverein, founded by Weitling, gives us an idea of the goals of Arbeitervereinen. The club was open to all who "rendered useful labor" and thus included teachers and journalists as well as artisans. It demanded that the state care for the aged and infirm and called upon Americans to unite in Weitling's crusade for a genuine democracy and equality. The society held weekly meetings on Saturdays and as part of its regular program debated such issues as land reform, national workshops, free trade, the abolition of inheritance, and interest on capital. It also created an employment agency and provided sickness and death benefits for its members. Additionally, the club quickly formed a singing society, associations which were extremely popular in German communities. The Philadelphia Arbeiterverein managed to last, although in its later years only as a mutual benefit society, until 1899.[10]

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[9] Cited in Stanley Nadel, Kleindeutschland: New York City's Germans, 1845-1880 (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1981, pp. 41-42.

By the mid-1850s, Weitling's Workers League, faced with internal dispute and financial disputes, collapsed. What remained, however, were the workers' clubs and workers' education associations located throughout German-American communities.

At about the time that Weitling's movement was collapsing, Joseph Weydemeyer, the earliest and most influential, of the Marxist socialists, immigrated to the United States. Weydemeyer served as Marx's American correspondent, keeping him abreast of developments in the United States and sending him clippings of selected articles from American newspapers and documents related to the labor movement.[11] Marx enthusiastically wrote to Weydemeyer suggesting that as soon as possible Weydemeyer publish and distribute the Communist Manifesto in both English and German. Marx hoped that Weydemeyer would found a true (Marxist) socialist paper in the United States and suggested that Weydemeyer would create a library of pamphlets based on Marx's writing.[12] The newspaper founded by Weydemeyer, although short lived, is significant because it published Marx's The 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, a full seventeen years before it was published in Europe.

Weydemeyer became active in the labor movement and by 1859 was writing on economic questions for the Illinois Staats-Zeitung, the most influential German language newspaper in the Mid-West.[13] His articles where well received; shortly thereafter, Weydemeyer began a series of lectures at the Chicago Arbeiterverein on the economic basis of slavery and a series of lectures on "The Organization of the Workers, Their Past and Present Status," "Wage Labor," and "The Worth of Things." Although no texts of the talks exist, the titles suggest that they were based on

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[10] Schluter, Die Anfange, pp. 86-88; Wittke, Utopian Communist, pp. 123; 201-202.

[11] Marx to Weydemeyer 2 August 1851; Marx to Weydemeyer 7 August 1851; in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels Letters to Americans, 1848-1895 (New York: International Publishers 1953) pp. 23-26.

[12] Marx to Weydemeyer 16 October 1851; Marx to Weydemeyer 31 October 1851; in Letters, pp. 27-29.

[13] Karl Oberman, "Weydemeyer in Amerika: Neus zur Biographe von Joseph Weydemeyer (1854-1860)," International Review of Social History (1980, part 2) pp. 190-192.

Marx's works including the recently published Zur Kritik der politischen Okonmie (Critique of Political Economy).[14]

With the support of the Arbeiterverein, Weydemeyer became editor of Stimme des Volkes (Voice of the People). The paper was to be independent of all political parties but supportive of labor and opposed to slave labor. In practice it was to become a strong supporter of Lincoln in the presidential campaign of 1860.[15]

Weydemeyer served the Arbeiterverein in one additional capacity. In May of 1860 German supporters of Abraham Lincoln met to coalesce their support for Lincoln at the upcoming Republican convention also to be held in Chicago. At the conference Weydemeyer represented the Arbeiterverein and played an important role in uniting German support for Lincoln at the convention.[16]

American Socialism

By the beginning of the Civil War socialism, both its Marxist and "utopian" strains, was discussed, written about and debated in workers' clubs, newspapers, and saloons of the emerging American working class - at least in the German speaking part of the working class.

It was after the Civil War that socialism spread and influenced the very fabric of American life. The establishment of the American sections of the International Workingmen's Association (the famous First International) in the late 1860s and early 1870s and then the relocation of the First International's headquarter (at Marx's suggestion) in New York, served to further highlight the growth of socialism in the United States.[17]

As early as 1873, the Chicago Tribune would devote most of its front page to a description of the growing "communist movement." The Tribune expressed concern that the socialists had taken over control of the unemployed workers in the city. Moreover, the newspaper traced the origins of this "peculiar" philosophy to workers' clubs and education societies created by immigrant German workers. In 1879, the Tribune under the headline "The Reds" expressed surprise (and fear) at the size of socialist movement.[18] By the 1880s a significant socialist movement encompassing sizable components of various American ethnic groups had emerged.

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[14] Marx to Weydemeyer 1 February 1859 Letters, pp. 60-62.

[15] Obermann, Weydemeyer in Amerika, pp. 196-203.

[16] Karl Obermann, Joseph Weydemeyer: Ein Lebensbild, 1818-1866 (Berlin, 1968) pp. 363-369.

[17] See Herman Schlutter, Die Internnationale in Amerika (Chicago: Deutsche Sprachgruppe der Sozialischte Partei der Vereingten Staaten, 1918); Phillip S. Foner and Brewster Chamberlin, eds., Friedrich A. Sorge's Labor Movement in the United States (Westport, Ct.: Greenwood Press, 1977).

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[18] Chicago Tribune, 25 December 1873; 23 March 1879.

Personal Transformation Through Participation in Social Action: A Case Study of the Leaders in the Lincoln Alliance

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Abstract: Leaders transformed both their reality of a democratic society and their beliefs about their social roles, abilities, and self concepts as they acted on issues in the public arena. Both conscientization and transcendence into the transpersonal realms were evident.

Adult education has its origins and historic roots in the reform movement of the 1920s. John Dewey, Eduard Lindeman, and Dorothy Canfield Fisher were each social activists during the Progressive Era which is considered the birthplace of the adult education movement. Study of social action has focused, traditionally, on the transformation of social structures which dehumanize or prevent people from their right to adequate shelter, food, clothing and quality of life in a democracy. Recently, adult educators have begun to explore the nature of personal transformation (Mezirow, 1990, Boyd, 1989). The purpose of this research is to determine the ways Lincoln Alliance leaders experienced personal transformation in the context of social action. The perspective of the research derives primarily from Paulo Freire's theory of conscientization.

The Lincoln Alliance was a broad-based community organization whose goal was both to empower people to influence the decision-making process in the city of Lincoln and to correct the inequities that existed in social systems at the time. These leaders felt they had no "voice" in the community; those in power at the time were a closed small group of people who prohibited participation in community because it threatened their vested interests and power. The Alliance held a normative attitude toward democracy that inferred that all people have the right to participate in ruling their lives.

The Lincoln Alliance existed from 1973-1982. The Founding Convention was in June, 1976; however, the parent ad hoc organization, IMPACT, that preceded the Alliance had begun to train and organize people in an attempt to build the organization prior to that time. At the Founding Convention there were 27 groups in attendance with approximately 500 delegates representing those organizations. The structure of the organization included a Steering Committee which was made up of the representatives of the various member organizations. Those organizations included seven churches, nine neighborhood organizations, and thirteen city-wide groups such as Citizens for Environmental Improvement, the Indian Center, the Association of Black Citizens, and the Citizens League for Accountability Studies. Only groups could join the Lincoln Alliance, not individuals. Through the efforts of the Lincoln Alliance, a powerful citizens' organization developed which trained hundreds of citizens in organizational skills missing in the community at that time. The Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) provided consultation, training, and organizer services during the early years of IMPACT and the Alliance.

IAF was established in Chicago by Saul Alinsky whose techniques and strategies were developed in opposition to the Settlement Houses that existed around the University of Chicago in the 1930s and '40s. Alinsky's style of organizing grew out of an indepth understanding of human nature that is based on self interest. Self interest is that which is most important or essential to him/her self in both the private and the public arenas. Alinsky took democracy seriously and sought to provide People's Organizations around the country (see Horwitt, 1988) so that citizens would have "the power and opportunity to best meet each unforeseeable future crisis as they move ahead in their eternal search for those values of equality, justice, freedom, peace, a deep preciousness of human life, and all those rights and values propounded by Judeo-Christianity and the democratic political tradition" (Alinsky, 1971, p. 12).

The case study of the Lincoln Alliance is significant for the field of adult education because, to date, few studies have attempted to explain how people change as a result of social action. Traditionally, personal change is described as an individual process apart from the social or external context which precipitated the change. This study seeks to show that there is a direct relationship between what happened in the public arena with what occurred in the personal psyche. Because the Lincoln Alliance was a strong collective organization, the phenomena of the group is also discussed. The question that guided the research was: To what extent did transformation occur as a result of leaders' experience in the Lincoln Alliance, and what was the nature of that change? Beyond the scope of this report, other questions were: Why did they participate in such an organization, and what theoretical assumptions guided their actions?

Methods

A qualitative research design using the constant comparison method of analysis of Goetz and LeCompte (1984) and Glaser and Strauss (1967) guided the research. The methods of data collection included a semi-structured interview protocol, follow-up interview checks (called member checks) for leaders to assess the accuracy and meaning attributed to the emergent categories, and a document review of the Lincoln Alliance files and the Industrial Areas Foundation training sessions. All interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim and coded around the following themes: reasons they participated, assumptions made by leaders, kinds of changes experienced, and what they learned, which was divided into two parts: instrumental learning and transformative learning. Member charts were made on each individual which were composite sheets listing all of the elements discussed in a theme.

For this project ten leaders were studied, five males and five females. In 1976, four of the leaders were in their forties and six were in their early to mid 30's. Five came from church organizations; however, two of those were members of an unsanctioned church group, i.e., the administrative board of this church did not officially join the Alliance. Five came from either neighborhood or civic organizations. Three in the group were part of the original founders of the Lincoln

Alliance, IMPACT, while the rest were officers during the active years of the Lincoln Alliance. There were seven officers; five were presidents and two were vice presidents. Eight attended the two-week intensive Industrial Areas Foundation training while two did not. Nine leaders moved to Lincoln in the late 1960s and early 1970s while one moved there in the 1950s.

Data collection began with inductive interviews, where two of the leaders simply talked about anything that came to mind regarding their experience in the Alliance. A semi-structured interview protocol was then established to be administered to six of the leaders which provided detailed summaries along the following points: Why did they participate in the Alliance, what did they learn, what was the nature of their personal transformation as a result of their experience, and what were the theoretical assumptions that guided their actions. This first draft summary was shared with the six leaders in member checks as a way for the leaders to check the inclusion of their own individual data as the categories emerged. The remaining four leaders of the study also received a first draft of the analysis which included all ten persons' data. The purpose of the member checks was to allow the researched to negotiate with the researcher the final meanings of the research. Entering into dialogue about the interpretation of the emergent themes and categories allowed participation in the outcomes of the research itself. Furthermore, the design of the research was to reflect the interactive, dialogic nature of the Alliance itself.

Findings

There were six ways that the leaders believed they changed as a result of the action-reaction-reflection model of social action. These were collapsed into two large categories which seemed to reflect the nature of the leaders' transformation in the Lincoln Alliance. Under the broad category of cognitive-rational changes were three themes: 1) an awareness of power which has three subthemes, 2) focusing, and 3) an awareness of the connections/relationships they made with their values. The second category included all of the socio-emotional beliefs about their experience. There were three items that emerged in this category: conflict facilitated through confrontation, confidence to risk, and subsequent feelings of creativity and being alive.

Cognitive rational changes

The cognitive rational changes occur within the realm of the ego, the specific construct of the self that sees, perceives and relates to the outside world. As a consequence of their participation in social action, most of the leaders said they "saw things differently" in three ways. In regard to power there was 1) a critical awareness of democracy and how it works which resulted in 2) "seeing beneath the surface" of issues which 3) facilitated a loss of naivity about power. Furthermore, all of the leaders learned to focus in two ways during the Lincoln Alliance. Focusing as a cognitive function was one benefit of their experience, while the second was related to power and the ideology of democracy. All of these are under the category of changing socio-cultural assumptions about reality which required more of a cognitive functioning.

1. Awareness of Power

A. The first theme of power emerged in a critical awareness about "how the pieces in our society are really put together and how having power really makes a difference." Again and again there was a growing awareness of what having power means in a democracy. The Lincoln Alliance's purpose was to facilitate a "process as an awareness of how decisions are made...by people who have the power to make them." "The district election (issue) was motivated because individuals were being told that the community was being represented. Yet they knew from their own encounters with the Council and other elected officials they were not being represented. And if anything their vested interests were being ...criticized and actually being ridiculed and disregarded as ideas worthy of consideration." Another said, "many times we fought city hall but it was not the power base. The power base was in the financial world and that's where our changes had to be made." There was an awareness that "in our society, the way it's organized, it appears that power is only in the hands of people with money and that's significant. But there is also power in a democratic society in terms of numbers of people. If you don't have money and you want power then you need to organize." As the action-reaction-reflection process commenced the people in the Alliance "saw what their power isn't."

B. Seeing beneath the surface was what occurred for five people. One woman said, "What is presented as truth is not necessarily the way it is...The world as it really is is a distorted mirror image of what we would like it to be," as she saw how large apartments were able to be built in single or double family zoned lots. She no longer saw the world through "rose-colored glasses." Another "saw what appeared on the surface was really not what the real issues were, in terms of power and institutional relationships within society." Another one talked about how "we would always ask what is the hidden agenda...but would sit down and work that out (in the collective)...because we wanted to get down to what the vested interest of all the parties was." And another spoke about how those in power "make those decisions according to their own self-interest...It's just that people, benevolent people, look after their own interests thinking that they are good for other people, too. We have a great capacity for self-deception."

C. Four people were no longer naive as a result of their participation in the action-reaction-reflection process. "I do not look at society with the same eyes that I do now." One woman experienced a "genetic change...that shifted me in the family, in the community, in friendships, and as a mother. I thought of everything differently." When one changes "genetically," one moves away from one's genetic make-up inherited from the past. This seems to include both a cognitive, no longer naive, dimension, as well as a socio-emotional dimension which is a more holistic shift, total mind-body. Another learned to define power in a different way. "I saw how naive I was in the early '70s thinking I could have power because I was invited to serve on an advisory committee or that I could have power if I could call someone on the phone. That easy access is misleading because you can have access and be without power." There is a naive sense about people who think "taking chicken soup to someone in the hospital" is the extent to which they are capable of caring for the community. For another, "I'm no longer naive about the difficulties in changing the system. It's a hell-of-a struggle but I think clarity is a very important step."

2. Focusing

There were two kinds of focusing apparent in these leaders. One was an increasing ability or skill at focusing as a cognitive function; i.e., they focused "their thoughts" on the issue," "on the importance of setting goals," on "knowing what is important." It taught practical skills in "how to problem solve on issues and in practical life situations" which included the skills of being analytical, more systematic, and logical in thinking. One woman learned about "cutting the issue." She means by this that she developed a clarity by separating and differentiating what is nonessential for her energies to be focused on in the essence of the issue. Freire maintains that "the longer the problematization proceeds, and the more the subjects enter into the "essence" of the problemized object, the more they are able to unveil this 'essence'" (Freire, 1988, p. 21). The more they unveil it, the more their awakening consciousness deepens, thus leading to "conscientization" of the situation.

Another way to focus was ideologically for power in the community. "So the Alliance I think was a good thing for me because it helped me focus my thoughts. It helped me ask the right questions." And those questions were related to what was "right," were the values held by the group, the powerless. "What I learned was the importance of setting your own goals, knowing what you want to get out of everything you do regardless of how trivial it may seem...It's not just a selfish thing but what you think is important for the community not just yourself." For another, "The Alliance...helped focus that change on something recognizable instead of little items that had no aggregate consequence. This was something that brought about consequential structural changes in the community and they haven't been reversed either." In addition, "By learning to focus on purposeful action, the frustration was gone." By combining a cognitive function (focusing on action) with a value he held (changing significant structures in the community for the collective) he became more integrated, congruent, less frustrated.

3. Relationships and connections grounded in values

Almost all of these leaders made connections or relationships which were grounded in their explicit moral and ethical values or growing commitment to the community. One brought together "my enhancement of self confidence as a public actor and a feeling of responsibility to be engaged." Another made a connection between his faith and "how to act in accordance with that faith...you've got to keep from becoming completely alienated...which results from being disconnected from other people. To the extent that you disconnect, you begin to lose life, you begin to disconnect from, for me, God and other people. So, I get into this to keep from dying." Another made a connection between what it means to be a citizen: "It's the most important thing...to be an active, human actor who takes into account others. This leads to a commitment to people and community." Others saw the "interrelationships between how institutions work" in terms of relationships with people in those institutions. Another saw how he had to challenge himself "collectively on how what you are doing or propose to do is consistent with your values." One woman saw herself "as a leader for the first time" and "that I ought to provide it." One said she was "exposed for who you are and what you believe in...My work life then and still is to fulfill my need and desire to see justice in society." Finally, "your ego...was committed to the collective ego...which stood for values you held as important...I mean that's how we viewed it. We were doing what was right; it was part of our democratic structure. It was part of our inalienable rights as people (to be involved in the Lincoln Alliance)." Therefore, the Alliance leaders were driven to participate in social action by a sense of moral and ethical beliefs about democracy and its assumption that individual existential health is important. According to John Dewey (1916), this type of democracy is primarily "a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" (p.87).

Beliefs about self in society

When powerless people with "victim self-images" begin to "grow,...they grow in their sense of power, sense of self-worth, dignity, awareness of themselves, who can make a difference in the future." 1) Conflict played a very major part in disturbing the emotional world that informed what these adults thought. The use of confrontation was mentioned by all of the leaders as both one of the tactics used in the public arena and as an important ingredient in their ability to change. Because of conflict, both in dialogue in the collective and in making social change in the public arena, these leaders questioned their own beliefs and assumptions about cultural reality. As a consequence they began to see their roles and selves in society differently, which led them to be creative as they gained 2) confidence to risk in the public arena. And finally, two people learned about 3) transcendence, one about the need for individual transcendence in favor of the group and another about the need for individual transcendence to sustain himself in the midst of social action conflict.

1. Social Conflict

Half of the leaders specifically mentioned that conflict in the context of the Lincoln Alliance was necessary for change in their beliefs while the other half inferred it. Conflict was apparent in such statements as, "It is uncomfortable to see that the answers you have had don't work anymore." When "those things that they've held as trues aren't any more, that brings about change." Another makes a similar observation: "To change the stuff on the outside means one had to change on the inside." Another said, "I don't mean to say it was a little love-in every time we got together. It was just real hard, the criticism. Maybe one of the ways you grow is through constructive criticism and say what you really think...The Alliance wasn't behind your back and that pulled you forward, to grow, to do it differently, so you could be successful on whatever issue you were working on." One said outright, "I don't think change can take place without conflict. The transformation of the person as they act is very closely related to the change that takes place in the community."

Confrontation occurred when the Alliance "distorted reality" in the public arena. "It drew the line in the sand, if you will...Yes or no, good or bad. (Joe Blow) wasn't totally ineffective, maybe 90%. But all of our issues were defined in terms of 'good guys' and 'bad guys'...That's part of creating the electricity, the dynamics and it's critical (in bringing about change)." When the reaction comes from such action people have to develop "a kind of maturity to stand that kind of criticism." "Whenever you're involved in action you're immediately put into a situation where you wonder, "'What am I doing here?' and, 'What's going to happen?'" The external event precipitated an internal reaction "...to evaluate after you've done something, to try to instill the fun and spirit in something that is often very hard, draining and painful work." Another astute observer talked about the dialectic of resolving the conflict experienced. He commented that "developmental change occurs whether it is personal or social when it involves conflict. Confronting the part of yourself that you're at odds with, or that you've denied, or confronting the part of the system that you are alienated from. And then in some kind of dialogue you find some resolution that enables some sort of self acceptance, acceptance of the other, that immediately goes back into another disequilibrium. Equilibrium should not be a goal. It's always a process."

2. Development in the self of confidence, personal efficacy, and empowerment

Virtually all ten leaders spoke about the feeling of empowerment or personal efficacy they gained through involvement in this process. "In order to effectively deal with issues it was a necessity for individuals to be empowered, to have the tools, skills and understandings to deal with their constituencies and also the larger issues around the problem." Therefore, there was a need to be trained and armed with skills, politically and organizationally. There was a combined sense of personal with political efficacy to have the skills necessary to get people in office, "in my abilities to orchestrate what would happen, to feel very much alive with no threat." Confidence was promoted for one woman when she said "it promoted self confidence that these people understand me, are willing to listen to my ideas and take them seriously, are willing to depend on me for some things and it's things I can do." At a time when technology has replaced the importance of the individual, the Alliance provided the recognition that people needed to feel essential for democracy. "It's a feeling that you do count." Another said "the Alliance gave me a sense of importance, respect, that nothing could stop you. That sense of self worth." It gave people recognition for their work and made one feel alive through the "electricity in the dynamics of the action...a sense of sharing an experience with others at the same level of intensity and awareness." For another "it was a wonderful period, very energizing and focused."

Because of the confidence that was gained in the collective, people were able to take risks easier. "Flying by the seat of my pants made me feel like I could be more creative...the 'action is in the reaction' part of that is the unknown, often you don't know the reaction...That's taking a risk in not knowing...so it developed in me some kind of ability to have confidence in risk taking, to feel I could, to see my pants down and that the whole world wouldn't come down on me. That was important both on an individual and collective level...It was important and easy because we were standing in solidarity with each other." As a result, three people said they "got courage to act" from being in a collective. One said she found her "political self. It was the first time during those years that I actually ever thought of myself as being a leader of any kind." Another said the Alliance "demanded that you be involved and take risks. It was a kick in the seat of the pants. It was excellent leadership development."

3. Development Beyond the Self

The last theme that emerged in the nature of change was a sense that involvement in the process produced a need for the self to reach beyond itself. The individual ego became less important while "the importance of serving the community became more important than (serving) one's own individual ego." "In other words, you look at things from a perspective of the benefit of the collective rather than just self serving." "In the process we learned we were among other people who had similar motivations who we could trust and, as a result, that ego wasn't the overriding force." The organization became "goal-oriented."

The last leader felt that he learned that an intellectual awareness was not adequate to sustain social action. "One really needs to be in touch with a transcendent source of power to be able to endure that kind of situation." What is needed is "a value system that provides a basis and context for critical reflection on what is happening, an ability to understand nature realistically and to bring an acceptance to human nature that transcends just our human capacity for self acceptance. So I guess it led me into a sense that I needed to strengthen that spiritual base in myself and I needed to find a transcendent resource in my own life that I could both relate to and be sustained by." This leader moved into the transpersonal realm.

Interpretation and implications

The process changed these leaders' cognitive assumptions about democracy and their beliefs about themselves to contribute toward democracy. Two even felt a need to reach beyond themselves, to transcend the ego for a collective, more important or higher sense to sustain both themselves and the collective working for social action. Freire's development theory culminates in conscientization which all of these leaders achieved. Ken Wilbur (1986) goes beyond conscientization or vision-logic, as he calls it, to hypothesize four additional levels of development in the transpersonal realms. Wilbur, like Freire, suggests that vision-logic, the stage beyond abstract formal reasoning, is dialectic, integrative, or a creative synthesis level of development.

The mind in vision logic is able to vision or apprehend a mass network of ideas ("panoramic logic") which influences each other and interrelates, creating a holistic view of reality. Any move from level to level requires a structural psychic change. In the transpersonal realms "the individual's cognitive and perceptual capacities apparently become so pluralistic and universal that they begin to 'reach beyond' any narrowly personal or individual perspectives and concerns" (Wilbur, p. 72). When one no longer can sustain oneself with one's present reality structure, one "transcends" to another level of development.

The dynamics of the group both in dialogue and in social action were critical for the personal transformation that these leaders experienced. The Alliance distorted reality and thus caused conflict in the structures set up in the mind which had given meaning to each person's world. Those in power felt threatened that they would lose that power and unleashed their anger on the Alliance's actions (the reaction) and caused leaders to retreat into the supportive, nurturing environs of the collective to dialogue about the reality or world picture the reaction created in Alliance participants. Therefore, the Alliance both precipitated the conflict in the process of acting on justice issues and attempted to interpret and nurture the alternative perspectives gradually taking hold in the psyches of the people. The Alliance affirmed that people's ego needs and values were real, not theoretical, rootless or dying by making their experience of democracy meaningful.

Using problem-posing education (Freire, 1970), the leaders in the Lincoln Alliance shifted in meaning perspectives (Mezirow, 1981) in a rational cognitive fashion, but also added the socio-emotional beliefs about the self that seemed to produce integration, differentiation, and more inclusive ways of being. Confronting one's own individual fears and assumptions in the context of conflict in the social, public arena promotes major shifts in development. Individualism is not an issue in social action as the collective goal becomes more important than individual egos. Community organizing promotes critical thinking (Brookfield, 1986) because the self is placed in situations that require critical reflection (Mezirow, 1981). Conflict situations make it possible for dynamic movement to occur in one's cognitive and emotional structures. Furthermore, democracy is preserved as adults regard themselves as free agents to determine the nature of their own futures.

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GENDER DIFFERENCES IN FACULTY PERCEPTIONS OF ACADEMIC CAREER ENHANCERS AND BARRIERS

by
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Abstract

This study explored the perceptions of 139 higher education faculty regarding influences related to career vitality. Users and nonusers of an individualized career development program participated. Significant differences were discovered between men and women concerning reasons for choosing their career, sources of career satisfaction and sensitivity to mentoring.

Introduction

Literature that addresses academic career development frequently cites policies in American higher education during the later part of this century as having contributed to greater confusion on the part of faculty about their role as professors (Apps, 1988). This has led to fewer qualified Ph.D. candidates choosing the profession, and for those who are already members, frustration resulting in some instances to alienation from the academic profession altogether. This phenomenon raises concern about how professional academics, in response to more rapidly changing conditions within colleges and universities, engage in renewal (Simpson, 1990).

Academic career development literature suggests that career vitalization can be linked to such factors as reasons for choosing the profession, expectations about professorial work and the nature of mentoring support received prior to and during the academic career (Lynton & Elman, 1987). Gender differences with regard to these variables have also been cited as factors related to faculty vitality (Corcoran & Clark, 1984). Thus, a study of faculty perceptions about their development as academics was conducted. The purpose was to better understand the career development process among faculty and what professional learning during the career contributes to vitality. Ultimately, the purpose is to affect conservation of human resources within higher education institutions.

A survey of Northern Illinois University (NIU) faculty was conducted by the Faculty Development staff in Spring 1990 that focused upon attitudes related to academic life, work background, professional activities, work satisfaction, and general influences in academic career development. A total of 261 questionnaires were distributed to 87 faculty who had made contact with the Faculty Development Office between 1982 and 1990. A larger sample of faculty (174) who had no previous contact with the office were matched by department, genera and length of service at NIU. Of the faculty respondents, about 70% were men and 30% were women. The profile of participants according to rank was Assistant Professors (12%), Associate (37%), Full (45%), and Other (6%). The average length of service at NIU was about 19 years.

Of the total surveyed, 58 (67%) "users" and 81 (47%) "nonusers" returned completed questionnaires. An overall description of responses by the total sample was analyzed to determine differences between faculty who had sought development assistance (users) and those who had not (nonusers) and difference according to gender.

Career Influences

A number of influences prompted faculty in choosing an academic career. The most frequently identified influences were (1) attraction of academic lifestyle (75%), (2) desire to be a teacher (66%), and (3) encouragement by a mentor (51%). Desire to (4) write and do research, and desire to help people, both were identified by 42% of those who responded. Over three quarters of the faculty surveyed indicated that they would probably or definitely choose a career as a faculty member if they were starting over.

Significant gender differences emerged from the survey data with regard to the decision to become a professor. Women faculty were less attracted to the profession than men due to academic lifestyle. The most important influences for women were the desire to do research (74%, compared to 44% for men faculty) and the influence of a family member (71% vs. 9% for men). "Desire to be a teacher" was the second most important influence (63%) for men, while only 19% of the female participants cited this as important. Another interesting contrast between male and female responses was that while one-half of the women indicated being "the best job available" was most important in their decision, only 9% of the men responded likewise.

A second area of comparison was how faculty responded to reconsideration of academic life as a career. Whereas 85% of the women probably to definitely would choose a career as a faculty member if they were to start over, only 71% of men were as confident in their first decision. When asked about how their satisfaction matches what they anticipated at the time they decided to become a professor, men and women differed somewhat. Seventy-one percent of women were as satisfied, or more satisfied now than then. Fifty-four percent of the men have the same response. Slightly more women proportionately have ever felt stuck in their careers (47%-men vs. 56%-women).

Fulfillment in the Job

Several factors seem to contribute to faculty fulfillment. The two most satisfying areas indicated by the sample of respondents were teaching and service. About 70% replied that, for the most part, they have been able to teach to the degree that they wanted while at NIU. More than one-half indicated they were able to engage in service related to their academic role to the degree they wished. Less than 10% replied that they had little or no opportunity to teach what they wanted or to engage in service activities to the degree they wished.

As literature on faculty satisfaction indicates, lack of fulfillment is not necessarily related directly to feelings of frustration. Periodic frustration during the career life of most faculty is common. Some feelings of professional uneasiness may in fact be part of the natural career development of faculty. Prolonged persistence of these feelings, however, are cause for concern.

Of the NIU faculty who were sampled about one-half have felt "stuck" at some time in their career since being awarded tenure. Nearly 65% indicated feelings of career stuckness somewhat to definitely at the time they were surveyed. Only a little more than 10% said they felt no career stuckness currently.

Several conditions seemed to contribute to feelings of being stuck. The major cause reported (over 50%) was lack of funding. Additionally, diminished energy, conflicts with colleagues or the departmental chair, lack of intellectual stimulation and lack of departmental or institutional status were conditions reported by about 30% of the faculty who felt stuck in their careers.

When identifying circumstances that have contributed to being stuck in their career development, women cited conflicts with administration, lack of intellectual stimulation, and lack of status in their major field of interest more frequently. Men, in contrast to their female colleagues, cited "teaching the same courses every semester" and "diminished professional opportunities" as contributors to feelings of being stuck.

Career Satisfaction

Faculty surveyed were asked to respond to several questions that dealt with sources of satisfaction in their careers at NIU. The strongest response was in regard to the quality of NIU faculty. Nine out of 10 respondents felt somewhat to very satisfied with the quality of faculty at NIU. Participants in the survey also highly regarded the opportunities (1) to make use of their abilities, (2) to pursue their professional interests, (3) to have variety in their work, (4) use time as they saw fit, and (5) to see the fruits of their labor, all of which are available at NIU.

User and Nonuser responses were analyzed to gain insight as to motivations that may be associated with renewal assistance. Differences in response between users and nonusers first appeared in reasons for choosing the professorate.

Thirty percent of the nonusers, contrasted with 19% of users, decided to become professors as a result of positive experience being graduate student instructors. The reverse was true and to the same degree for users. Users were influenced more by positive experiences as elementary/secondary instructors. Significantly more of the nonusers (49% vs. 32%) went into the collegiate professorship because of a desire to help people. Slightly more of the users (56% vs. 48%) became professors due to encouragement by mentors, while slightly more of the nonusers (22% vs. 13%) were influenced by job security. 15% of the nonusers, as compared to 4% of the users, felt that the decision "just happened."

When responses of men and women were analyzed according to their satisfaction with specific aspects of their careers at NIU, there also were some significant variations. Women were generally more satisfied with physical working conditions, available resources, and promotion and professional advancement opportunities. Salary was the aspect of career with which men faculty were most satisfied. Though men significantly less often cited than their female counterparts, "available support resources" was the second most frequently identified source of career satisfaction.

The Mentoring Role

The supportive nature of relationships faculty have with peers, or lack thereof, can be sources of career satisfaction or disillusionment. Thus, an index of the mentorship climate on campus was one focus of the survey. Almost two-thirds of the respondents stated that they had been assisted by at least one mentor during their career. They averaged over (2) mentors each. More than 40% have themselves served as mentors during their careers - about 30% have mentored other faculty while at NIU.

A notable area of contrast was in female and male perceptions of influence with regard to mentors in academic career development. Eighty-two percent of women faculty indicated they had mentors to support their careers, compared to only 56% of men. Women significantly more frequently cited all mentoring functions listed in the survey to have provided support in their career development.

An area of difference in response between users of development assistance and nonusers was with the views of mentoring. As previously summarized, approximately the same proportion of users and nonusers experienced the influence of mentors in their career development. In all categories users more frequently identified career facilitating functions performed by their mentors. Those functions that were significantly more frequently observed by users were:

	Users	Nonusers
Served as a model	95%	74%
Challenged me to progress in the profession	87%	75%
Listened to professional problems	85%	64%
Gave me support as a person	85%	73%
Provided resources to solve professional problems	69%	52%

Relationship of Mentoring to Career Stuckness

About three quarters of faculty who had a mentor also have served as a mentor themselves while at NIU or at other institutions. Conversely, 29% of mentored faculty have not served as a mentor to other faculty at NIU or elsewhere.

From the total number of male faculty who responded to the survey 49 (50%) have had feelings of somewhat to definitely being stuck in their careers since being tenured at NIU. Thirty-two of these (33%) currently feel stuck. No significant relationship appears to exist between feelings of stuckness among male faculty and their having had a mentor. Fifteen have had mentors and 17 have not.

Twenty-four women faculty (57%) who responded to the survey indicated that they have had feelings of being stuck to some significant degree in their careers at NIU since being tenured. Of these, 38% expressed feelings of currently being stuck. Of sixteen female faculty who were stuck, 13 had been mentored and 3 had not.

Conclusions

Although the original purpose for the study was to determine differences between career development program users and nonusers, the most significant findings related to gender differences.

Academic lifestyle was a greater attraction to the profession for men, while women were drawn more by the desire to do research. Women were much more likely to be influenced by a family member in choosing an academic career. Also, women in the sample seemed somewhat more committed to the academic profession than their male counterparts.

About one-half of the participants reported feeling stuck at some time in their careers. However, women differed from men faculty regarding what contributed to "stuck" feelings. Women cited conflicts with administration, lack of intellectual stimulation and diminished status in their field as contributors, whereas men seemed to be impeded by boredom and lack of work opportunities.

With regard to sources of career satisfaction men cited salary more frequently as the aspect of career most satisfying. In contrast, women cited working conditions, resources and professional advancement.

Sensitivity to mentoring was another significant area of difference between the responses of men and women. More women recognized mentors as having influence in their career development. Also, women and program users were much more sensitive to various mentoring functions such as modeling, challenging, listening, supporting and providing professional resources. Mentoring did not seem to be related to feelings of being stuck in career, however.

Accepting the limitations of self-report instruments and methods of sampling, it seems clear that there may be clear differences in what influences men and women faculty in academic career development. These differences should be taken into careful consideration when institutions attempt to provide counseling and support systems.

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FORGOTTEN ADULT EDUCATORS:
Two Women of America's Radical Left

by Stanley W. Smith

Abstract: This paper examines the lives of two women of the American political left. Grace Hutchins and Anna Rochester were mature active members of the radical left who reached the peak of their productivity during the 1920s and '30s. In examining their lives, the paper looks not only at two extremely interesting individuals, but at their efforts towards educating America's adults to the social problems of the day.

Syndicalists, Anarchists, Socialists, Communists; the names paraded across newspaper headlines of early 20th century America. Most research into the lives and work of those on the American political left has concentrated upon individuals who received a great deal of notoriety during their lifetime. As a result, a substantial body of biographical material is available about such soapbox stompers as: Socialist, Eugene V. Debbs; Anarchist, Emma Goldman; Syndicalist, "Big" Bill Haywood; Socialist/Communist Elizabeth Gurley Flynn; and Labor activist "Mother" Jones. However, very little attention has been paid to the Left's less notorious supporters. Particularly neglected are the less well known women activists. However, with their contributions to organization, research, writing, and particularly publication, a strong argument could be made that some of these generally ignored individuals made a more lasting and important contribution than their more publicized contemporaries.

Grace Hutchins' obituary ran in between Wallace Widdecombe, "oldest member of Equity", and James E. Somers, "a producer of television commercials and industrial films". She was the only woman featured on the obituary page for the day. She got 12 inches of space (New York Times, July 16, 1969).

Grace Hutchins was born into Boston's social elite August 19th, 1885. She was the daughter of one of Boston's foremost attorneys, who in turn was the only son of one of New England's foremost attorneys. She grew up in a home described as full of books and art, and a family whose social and financial position afforded its children numerous opportunities beyond those even of most other affluent children (G. Hutchins Collection, personal communication, University of Oregon Library). The family traveled extensively and was very supportive in providing the children educational and cultural enrichment. One particularly notable Hutchins Family trip circumnavigated the globe in 1898 and 1899. While in China, the family visited a textile factory where Grace saw girls her own age working in miserable conditions for a few cents a day (Hutchins, 1899). The incident provided her first experience with the lot of the working classes, and also appears influential in her decision to enter the China missions in 1912. Her Boston Back Bay upbringing set her apart from many of her later associates in the political left. One indicated she spoke and carried herself in an obviously superior manner that invited derision among her younger more proletarian counterparts (Flynn, 1973).

Following graduation from Bryn Mawr College in 1907, Hutchins served in the Episcopal Church's China Missions from 1912 to 1916. She taught, and later served as principal, at St. Hilda's School for Chinese Girls in Wuchang, Central China. Her journal from the period indicates it was largely a pleasant experience with a relaxed, sharing atmosphere among the faculty and strong relationships with the students. She notes with some exasperation, however, the extremely limited prospects of even the well educated young women who graduated from St. Hilda's. These experiences added to her interest in the conditions of women in general and working women in particular (G. Hutchins, personal communication, journal from St. Hilda's). Upon leaving the mission field, she obtained a teaching position at a Social Work Training School in New York. Her pacifist beliefs led her to join the Socialist Party as a protest against U.S. entry into World War I and gradually into the Christian Pacifist movement where she me Anna Rochester.

Anna Rochester's path into leftist politics was very similar to that of Hutchins. She was born March 30, 1880 into an old, well established New York family. Her great-grandfather had founced Rochester, New York, her relatives had in the Revolutionary War, and she was cousin to shoe tycoon Frank Mellville, Jr. (A. Rochester Collection, personal communication, University of Oregon Library). Her family was less affluent than Hutchins, but certainly able to provide a comfortable Victorian upbringing. Rochester attended Dwight School for Girls in New Jersey before taking her grand tour of Europe in 1896 at age 16. She also attended Bryn Mawr (1897-1899) before leaving to help in the care of her mother following her father's death (Kemp 1980).

After leaving Bryn Mawr, Rochester did Episcopal church work and then entered the social work field in 1909 (Kemp 1980). She worked for the Consumers' League in New Jersey, was publicity director for the National Child Labor Committee, and was an analyst for the Children's Bureau of the U.S. Labor Department (Peabody, 1940). In this capacity, she was instrumental in attempts to obtain shorter working days for women, and also authored an important study linking slum poverty with high infant death rates (Allen, 1966). She joined the Socialist Party in 1910, and with the outbreak of WWI turned her political energies to the cause of Christian Pacifism. It was through that movement she and Grace Hutchins became acquainted and established a relationship that was to last the rest of their lives (G. Hutchins, personal communication, May 9, 1924, December 25, 1924).

In 1921, Hutchins and Rochester started a "community of women" following a "propertyless plan of life" in New York City (G. Hutchins, 1920). Not a great deal is known about "the community" except that it was composed originally of an elite group of their well educated friends and acquaintances. One member expressed the atmosphere as one of "very great, though unconscious refinement," and suggested that the addition of "one or two women of far less refinement of upbringing" might make it less "monastic" (Grace Hutchins Collection, personal communication, April 15, 1923). The experiment lasted into 1924 before being abandoned. Hutchins and Rochester then moved to an apartment in Greenvich Village which they shared for the rest of their lives.

During the community period, Hutchins and Rochester collaborated in writing **Jesus Christ and the World Today** (1922), the first major publication for both. It addressed the need for Christians to become involved in solving social problems. The book met with some success as it touched chords strongly felt by many people of the day. It also helped open doors for the authors' writing and editing skills.

Hutchins and Rochester's pacifist beliefs led them to join the Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization of Christians promoting pacifist policies. Rochester served as co-editor of the organization's monthly publication, **The World Tomorrow**, from 1921 to 1926. Hutchins served as managing editor from 1924 through 1926 following graduate study at Teachers College, Columbia University (Bryn Mawr, 1961; Kemp, 1980). The organization had socialist ties and regularly sent delegates to various international pacifist conferences including those under Communist auspices (G. Hutchins, personal communication, June 19, 1924). Hutchins and Rochester developed their reputation for social activism outside the U.S. through travel as representatives for the organization.

During this period, both consistently progressed towards the more radical side of the leftist movement. In 1926, Hutchins and Rochester started an around the world tour that took them to the Philippines, Japan, China, India, Russia, and most of the capitals of Europe. They toured factories, met with prominent social reformers, and wrote dispatches for U.S. publications about event and conditions in the nations they visited. They obtained an audience with Ghandi while in India. Ghandi's expression that passive resistance would take several generations to bring about substantial social change seems to have had an impact on both women (Peabody, 1940). Through articles written to fund the trip, and letters to friends at home, a gradual change from Christian Pacifism to Communist idealism can be seen (G. Hutchins & A. Rochester, personal communication, October 26, 1926; February 5, 1927; June 11, 1927). Hutchins and Rochester's disillusionment with the Fellowship of Reconciliation had been growing for some time, and the experiences on their trip provided the final impetus towards removing themselves from their relationship with it. Upon returning to the U.S., they resigned their positions, left the church, and joined the Communist party (G. Hutchins, personal communication, press release for International Publishers; Kemp 1980).

In August, 1927, Hutchins was arrested in a protest of the famous Sacco & Vanzetti murder case. Correspondence within the family indicates a serious and painful rift was caused between Hutchins and her father. It was mild, however, compared to her uncle's response. In a letter to Hutchins' mother he indicated she had disgraced the family and the country, and should be outcast from both. However, the furor caused by her arrest did not keep her from receiving a civil service appointment as investigator for the New York Department of Labor, Bureau of Women and Children. The position appears to have ideally suited her interests as it involved investigation of child labor and working conditions of women in New York. Health problems resulting in surgery and a prolonged recovery forced her to resign the position in 1928 (Grace Hutchins Collection, personal communication, University of Oregon Library).

Also in 1927, Hutchins, Rochester and Robert W. Dunn, formed the Labor Research Association (LRA), which continues to function today. The LRA is a labor research organization providing books, pamphlets, reports and statistics to labor organizations, leftist groups, and publications. Hutchins served on the LRA staff from 1929 until 1967, writing pamphlets on children's and women's labor issues, editing the Labor Fact Books series, and LRA's Railroad Notes publication from 1937-1962. Rochester also worked on LRA's staff from 1928 until the early 1960's. She wrote and edited many of its publications, including the International Pamphlet series and Labor and Industry series. It was during their association with the LRA Hutchins and Rochester did their most important work towards the education of adults in America.

Hutchins drew upon experiences in the textile strikes in New England during the 1920's to produce the first publication in the Labor Research Association's Labor and Industry series, **Labor and Silk** (1929). In it, she set forth a scathing attack of the silk industry by combining case studies with statistical information to provide a clear picture of the desperate situation in which silk workers found themselves. **Labor and Silk** set the tone and style for most of her future writing.

Rochester's first full-length study was **Labor and Coal** (1931), another in the Labor and Industry series. It followed what was by then the basic series formula in combining images of workers daily lives with compelling statistical data to advocate for militant unionism. The underlying basis of all such publications was a belief that the validity of the leftist point of view would be obvious if only people could see and hear the truth about social problems (Weinstein, 1975). The purpose then of most activities of the American Communist Party, and its satellite organizations like the LRA, was to develop the social consciousness of all sectors of the working class. To this end Hutchins and Rochester devoted the rest of their lives.

Hutchins retained a strong concern for women and children in the labor force throughout her life and turned to these topics for most of her important work in the 1930s. In 1932 she produced the pamphlet **Youth in Industry**, an analysis of the plight of working youth. The following year **Children Under Capitalism** took to task the state of child labor laws and the use of children in U.S. industry. She also wrote, first as a pamphlet and then in book form, her most important publication, **Women Who Work** (1934).

Women Who Work (1934) followed the same general pattern as **Labor and Silk.** Hutchins conducted extensive interviews, then supported this qualitative information with quantitative data often derived from government sources or industry's own statistics. The combination allowed her to make a strong case for her point of view. **Women Who Work** was the first publication from the Labor Research Association to receive a great deal of notice outside the leftist/communist media. It was favorably reviewed by many major newspapers in the United States, and was used by organizers of the new CIO Unions as a tool for unionizing women workers. It, and other publications of the Labor Research Association, also found at least some degree of audience among liberal members of the government (Chambers, 1952).

Rochester's most influential publication, **Rulers of America: A Study of Finance Capital** (1936), perhaps even further reflects the influence of their research and publication. In **Rulers of America**, Rochester penned an expose of how finance capitalists maintained control over the American economy and the effects on the nation's working class. Her obituary in **The Worker** (May 24, 1966) states, "No doubt the interest aroused by this book influenced the massive Federal research project on monopoly - TNEC [Temporary National Economic Committee], ordered by President Roosevelt." That likely overstates the case, but it is quite probable that Roosevelt and those involved in forming the TNEC were impacted to some extent by Rochester's work. In Roosevelt's message to Congress requesting formation of the TNEC, he states, "Examination of methods of conducting and controlling private enterprise . . . is long overdue **on the part of those who sincerely want to preserve the system of private enterprise for profit**" (italics added) (Senate Document, 173). More tellingly, Senator Joseph O'Mahoney of Wyoming, TNEC chairman, reflected Rochester's basic theme in concluding his national radio address on the TNEC's purposes. He stated, "The whole economic system has broken down because we have permitted it to be privately controlled for the advantage of those exercising the control instead of seeing to it that it is publicly controlled for the benefit of all" (Congressional Record, 1938).

Rochester addressed the problems facing American agriculture in **Why Farmers are Poor: The Agricultural Crisis in the United States** (1940). She also published two historical analyses in the 1940s. The **Populist Movement in the U.S.** (1943) provided a sympathetic look at the U.S. populist movement. **Capitalism and Progress** (1945) provided a Communist examination of American economic development under capitalism. That none of these books had the impact of **Rulers of America** is at least in part due to changing American circumstances and attitudes. The depression was over. World War II was in progress, and the alliance between the Soviet Union and United States made it very difficult for Communist authors to take Capitalist America to task.

Women Who Work was re-released in 1952 in an updated version that recognized some of the gains made by women in the labor force, but also pointed out the many deficiencies that remained. Hutchins used the reissue as a platform to advocate comparable worth for women workers, an idea that has only started to gain prominence in the past decade. In addition, she used the reissue to more thoroughly explore the problems confronting black women laborers in a segregated society.

Hutchins also used the political arena for her advocacy of labor reform and social change. In the tradition of Communist candidates, she ran for office not so much to win, but to obtain a platform from which to put forth the party's ideas on the important social issues of the day (Weinstein, 1975). Hutchins proved to be a tireless campaigner who addressed crowds and rallies wherever they could be found. She ran unsuccessfully for New York alderman in 1935, controller in 1936, and lieutenant governor in 1940 (Kemp, 1980).

Hutchins and Rochester were adept at avoiding the internal power struggles that consumed so many others in the American Communist Party. They managed to avoid the party's purges following Earl Browders' rise to power as well as those accompanying his fall in 1946. The McCarthy era proved more difficult, however. Hutchins became implicated in the Alger Hiss case when the government's key witness, Whittaker Chambers, claimed she had threatened his life for leaving the party in the 1930s. Hutchins actively worked to refute the charges through letters to Chambers' publisher, articles, and interviews (G. Hutchins, personal communication, January, 1949, May 29, 1952; Kemp, 1980). She and Rochester also worked extensively to aid those under scrutiny or jailed during the period. Hutchins personally furnished the bail for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Alexander Trachenberg when they were indicted under the Smith Act. When the government attempted to stem the source of bail money to Communist defendants, Hutchins became actively involved in the resulting litigation. Hutchins and Rochester continued their work with the LRA and support of leftist causes, often serving as members of boards of directors, until their deaths in the 1960s.

While Hutchins and Rochester, and their comrades of the radical left, didn't change the United States into the idyllic socialist society they envisioned, it would be erroneous to assume their efforts were wasted. Likely, their most lasting impact lay in attempts at educating the workers of America to the need for social change. More specifically, their research, writing, and publishing efforts helped bring to the consciousness of the American public: the problems of the working poor, exploitation of child labor, civil rights and civil liberties issues, problems of working women and the plight of the elderly. Their books and monographs were widely read and reviewed outside the normally narrow confines of the radical left. Their publications, and those of their colleagues in the LRA, were utilized by labor organizations, mainstream publications, and liberal members of the United States Congress (Chambers, 1952). In examining their lives then, we discover not only two radical leftist authors, but two women dedicated to educating adults as a means of transforming society into a more ideal form.

Further study of the education efforts of America's radical left is needed. The left had, at its heart, an extensive adult education campaign that was reasonably well planned and executed with an almost religious fervor. Further study could provide useful insights into our own educational efforts on unpopular/stigmatized topics. For example, such an examination could prove useful in education concerning AIDS, drug abuse, child abuse and other similar topics. If nothing else, further study could provide a clearer picture of what doesn't work in producing the instant results our society so often demands.

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RETURN TO HISTORY:

Adult Education in the Context of American Culture - The Writing of Lawrence Cremin

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I. ABSTRACT

Lawrence Cremin, the greatest historian of American education, has developed fascinating ideas regarding lifelong education. Building on the work of Jane Addams, John Dewey, and Margaret Mead, Cremin's ideas challenge standard definitions of adult education, and force us to broaden the subject matter and ideas with which adult educators wrestle.

II. BACKGROUND: THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SCHOOL

In 1961, with the publication of The Transformation of the School, Lawrence Cremin came to the attention of the wider public. The book was a history of the progressive school era. Mature historical thinking in American education can be dated from its publication.

Less noticed about the book is that it began to lay the groundwork for Cremin's ideas relevant to lifelong education. He would continue to develop these ideas for the next thirty years.

Two ideas in particular from his study of the progressive era would come to play major roles in his later thinking. The first was the expansion of learning beyond the school. In this regard he was particularly interested in the settlement movement, and especially Jane Addams' Hull House. Cremin rhapsodized about the variety of educational activities that arose in the settlement houses--kindergartens for toddlers, clubs for boys, girls, men and women. "And there were adult activities of every sort and variety". Quoting Addams approvingly, Cremin notes that Hull House was "a protest against a restricted view of the school". This commitment by early social workers to the entire spectrum of educational needs in their neighborhoods would influence much of Cremin's later thinking, and strike him as an outstanding educational model for us to use in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

The second idea from this period that Cremin would use extensively in his later writing was from Dewey. More than anyone else, Cremin was influenced by Dewey's concept of education. Dewey's broad ideas were applicable to learners of all ages, and they had a major impact on Cremin. Cremin quotes Dewey's definition of education approvingly, that education is "that reconstruction or reorganization of experience which adds to the meaning of experience, and which increases ability to direct the course of subsequent experience." Thirty years later Cremin's final book would end with a similar quote.

At the time, however, Cremin was not specifically concerned with lifelong education. Not until 1965, with the publication of The Genius of American Education, would Cremin begin to build upon ideas expressed in The Transformation of the School.

III. THE GENIUS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

In Cremin's book, The Genius of American Education, 1965, Cremin, for the first time, applied key notions and historical insights to lifelong education.

First and foremost, Cremin, building upon his reading of Jane Addams, continued to be interested in "the protest against a restricted view of the school". He referred to "non-formal education" and even formal education outside of public schools as an "educational revolution." The substance of this revolution included, for Cremin, mass media such as newspapers, commercial radio, modern cinema, television, book and magazine publishing.

In addition, he was impressed by the educational role of youth groups, even the early flowering of those groups before World War I, such as YMCA, YWCA, Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Camp Fire. Formal educational programs that he included in his "revolution" include the armed forces and workplace education.

Cremin argued in 1965 that "those who call themselves educators (must) bear in mind the total education of the public and the many agencies that carry it on." In fact, in this short but rich book, Cremin called for a "reformulation" of education which would take into account all educational institutions including museums, community science centers, summer camps, adult recreation centers, public television, vocational training, libraries, etc. He argued that teachers must develop far greater insight into these other educative agencies.

Cremin also continued to build on his reading of John Dewey. He asked himself: What is the purpose of this new education revolution? His own answer summarized Dewey's in Democracy and Education, "In the last analysis there is no more humane view of education than as growth in understanding, sensibility, and character, and no more noble view of democracy than as the dedication of society to the lifelong education of all its members."

Other concepts were also entering Cremin's formulations regarding lifelong education. He took them from anthropology and the work of Margaret Mead.

The first formulation of Mead's that Cremin liked was the distinction between "primary" education and "secondary education". Primary education, to Mead, was that which every person needed to get by in the world into which they were born. Secondary education was everything that came after that.

Mead's next distinction was that between "lateral" and "vertical" transmission of knowledge. Vertical transmission, to Mead, was the pouring of knowledge from the wise old teacher into the young pupils. But lateral transmission - required by the modern world, Mead argued - was the sharing of knowledge by the informed with the uninformed, whatever their ages. The prerequisite is the desire to know.

Mead's simple categories, based on her anthropological research, greatly influenced Cremin. For him, and perhaps also for us, a key element in Mead's ideas is that the age of the learner and teacher is irrelevant. Speaking of people of all ages Mead wrote "each and every one of these is a learner, not of something old and tired..but of new hardly tried theories, space lattices, cybernetics, and so on".

The ideas presented in The Genius of American Education would evolve, and remain part of Cremin's work for the rest of his life.

IV. AMERICAN EDUCATION 1607-1980, Three Volumes, and a Summary Volume: TRADITIONS OF AMERICAN EDUCATION

Cremin's great history of education is so vast that only a few relevant points will be touched upon here.

In the The Genius of American Education Cremin had argued that to understand education it was imperative to look beyond schools, to wider educational relationships. In his great history he applied this insight to education in the United States. He used the term "configuration" to refer to the unique educational relationships between institutions that are established at different times, places, and for different individuals.

The dominant configuration prior to the American revolution was that of family, church, school, and print media, probably in that order of importance, he argues. But Cremin quickly points out that the configurations were always changing; the institutions themselves changed from within, they became more or less dominant at different times, different people experienced different configurations differently, or they might be different in different communities.

Cremin gives many specific examples. He speaks of the educational configuration of slaves, including the mix of church proffered Christianity, and the secretly passed on traditions of Africa. Or the example of New England where the configuration was composed of mutually supporting educational institutions: church, home, and school.

Throughout, Cremin notes changes in educational configurations. After 1776 he indicates the growth of institutions of work outside the home (such as mine, shop, office, retail, factory, government bureau); custodial institutions (such as almshouse, asylum, reformatory) and special knowledge institutions (such as museums, lyceums and aquaria).

He also notes a general shift in power to the school and newspaper, in relation to household and church.

But again, all these were changing, under flux, specific to individuals; and there were always educational configurations isolated from the mainstream, such as utopian communities, Indian reservations, and systematic segregation.

Further complicating the picture, and drawing on Mead again, Cremin noted that even in early pre-modern times children might be, to use Mead's phrase, "immigrants in time" and had to be the interpreters of change to their elders.

Cremin also comments on a key element in the American configuration of education, "self-education." Cremin, using Franklin as representative of an ideal, defines Franklin's biography as the story of "an individual making his way through the contemporary configurations of education...utilizing education for his own purposes and then going beyond to create new educative institution...".

Cremin believes that it is not easy to analyze and understand how configurations affect a person; "there is no simple calculus for measuring these diverse educational configurations...they involve profound ironies."

It should not be surprising that a person so immersed in history, with the real lives of people, would find formal theories less than satisfying. The more Cremin wrote, the more he seemed to be drawn to another Dewey hallmark: suspicion of grand theories, respect for experience.

Cremin's final volume returns to Jane Addams, John Dewey, and Margaret Mead. Addams is presented as one of the great reformers of the century. He describes the insights and efforts of the settlement house movement as "the living embodiment in reformed conceptions of the uses of knowledge, the meaning of culture, and the nature of community."

Cremin continued to see Dewey as the beacon for democracy based on very broadly conceived educational principles. Cremin, using what may be described as his favorite Dewey quote, (he used it over and over again through the years) writes: "A democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience..."

And Cremin finished his history, wondering if Dewey and Mead's vision of an education that could overcome national boundaries will ever be achieved. On the last of over 1,500 pages, he closed with Mead's vision of human growth, including her vision that the "surest guarantee that change would be the occasion for human growth rather than ossification...was the inclusion of diverse people at every stage in the development of every significant activity."

V. PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND POPULAR EDUCATION AND ITS DISCONTENTS

Cremin wrote two more short brilliant books, Public Education, 1975, and Popular Education and Its Discontents, 1990. In the vein of The Genius of American Education they are "meditations" on the meaning of the history of American education. Both books deal directly with lifelong education.

Cremin's stated goal is to reformulate education within broad Deweyan categories, for the purposes of making lifelong learning a dominant paradigm in American education.

He starts by defining the theory of education as "the theory of the relation of various educative interactions and institutions to one another and to the society at large."

While this may seem to sum up his argument of the past 25 years, it is fascinating that it includes adult education within its scope, but is not limited to adult education.

He points out that configurations can work for or against you. Their relationship must be ascertained "in their particularlity" rather than assumed in some kind of generality.

Again, Cremin emphasizes that the process of education "is a complex process, fraught, with irony, and contradiction," and that there are almost always unintended consequences in education; indeed, "they are often more significant than those that are intended."

Cremin believes that his approach can still be evaluated. A la Dewey he would have us ask: To what extent does an educational configuration help individuals extend their horizons, heighten their sensibilities, and rationalize their actions? To what extent does it encourage individuals to seek further education?

In Popular Education and its Discontents, Cremin's last book, he uses the wonderful phrase "cacophony of teaching" to define how varied the educative institutions have become. More than ever he has become convinced of the complexity and particularity of life. He argues, again, that teaching is complex, that its not unidirectional from teacher to student.

Cremin's vast study of history, and the particulars of different people and configurations in it, has convinced him that it is impossible to predict which educational influence will be the greatest on somebody, or that anything has to be taught in any particular place, sequence, or time.

Cremin's last quote goes to Dewey, from Democracy and Education. The point of education is "to make human beings who will live life to the fullest, who will continually add to the quality and meaning of their experience and to their ability to direct that experience, and who will participate actively with their fellow human beings in the buildings of a good society."

VI. CONCLUSION

Lawrence Cremin's vision is complex and challenging. From the early period of social work, and Jane Addams, Cremin has learned to consider a wide variety of activities as educational, taught in informal as well as formal settings. From Margaret Mead and anthropology Cremin has adopted concepts of education that are flexible, and not culture bound. From John Dewey and Dewey's writing in education and political philosophy, Cremin has adopted the commitment to democracy as essentially an educational vision. From all three of these individuals he has learned to conceive of education as lifelong. However, Cremin is also a historian. From his study of history he has concluded that education is complex, that it is particular, that its consequences are unpredictable. Above all, education is a matter of the relationships of institutions and interactions to people, across their entire lives.

SKETCHES OF THE LANDSCAPE: CONTEMPORARY PHILOSOPHICAL ORIENTATIONS TO ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract: Major philosophical themes in the adult education literature are identified, based on parallels to trends in scholarly work in the philosophy of education. From the themes studied, four philosophical orientations, with corresponding metaphors, are illustrated to provide a framework for further examination of the philosophical presuppositions of the theory and practice of adult education.

The Literature: Philosophy of Education and Adult Education

Philosophy of education has been recognized as a scholarly field since 1942. That year was marked by the recognition of the Philosophy of Education Society by the American Philosophical Association and the publication of the NSSE (National Society for the Study of Education) Yearbook with philosophy of education as the theme. A growing body of scholarly literature in the field has followed since 1942. Major themes in the philosophy of education literature can be reviewed from the early 1940's to the present via five historic trends: (1) Comparative, 1942-1953, (2) Transitional, 1954-1957, (3) Analytic, 1958-1973, (4) Refinements and Challenges, 1968-1979, and (5) Recontextualization, 1980-present.

By contrast, literature in philosophy of adult education was not so easily identified by major historical trends. Philosophy of adult education was found in assorted works in the field, most of which were descriptions of program, methods and aims. Studies by Long and Agyekum (1974), Merriam (1977), and Long (1983) indicated the difficulty of finding works in adult education that are clearly philosophical in nature and content. While scattered works focusing on a philosophy for or of the field were found prior to 1980, works since 1980 appeared to have evidenced more attention to the methods and areas of study of philosophy. The time period covered by this review of philosophical works in adult education was from the mid-1960s to the present, thus overlapping the studies by Long and Agyekum, Long, and Merriam.

Themes of Philosophy of Adult Education

In contrast to the chronological trends found in philosophy of education, the philosophical literature of adult education suggested a set of four key themes, without historic periods designated. The four themes are: (1) Noble, (2) Comparative, (3) Positivist-Analytic, and (4) Recontextualization. A brief summary of the four themes follows.

The Noble Theme was comprised of several sub-themes. Included in this set are: (1) biographical works ("great educators"), (2) points of view or beliefs and attitudes about adult education, (3) the history of ideas in adult education, (4) normative, descriptive or prescriptive views of what adult education is or should be, and (5) attempts to organize ideas and meanings about adult education as a whole into a creed or system.

The Comparative Theme suggested categories similar to those used in philosophy of education: Idealism-perennialism, realism-essentialism, experimentalism-progressivism, existentialism and/or phenomenology. Added "isms" commonly found in adult education literature included liberalism, conservatism, behaviorism and humanism.

The Positivist-Analytic Theme presented two roles or purposes as primary for philosophy of adult education. The first was philosophy as analysis and clarification of concepts, slogans and metaphors of education. The second was philosophy as foundation for theory and research. Positivism also seemed to have had major impact on the incorporation of needs assessment methods, setting behavioral objectives and on evaluation and accountability in adult education.

The Recontextualization Theme was similar to the trend given the same name in the literature of philosophy of education. Recontextualization reflected the post-modern discussions and debates. Research, policies and practice were acknowledged as value laden and knowledge was argued to be socially constructed.

Status of Philosophy of Adult Education

Works of a philosophical nature in adult education appeared to be: (1) based in the foundational fields such as psychology, sociology or anthropology; (2) personal beliefs and values about adult education; (3) debates about research modes; (4) calls for or examples of inquiry grounded in a particular orientation, such as positivism or hermeneutics; or (5) attempts to define the field or propose a particular approach to adult education (e.g. critical adult education).

The 1980s produced a number of writings in adult education advocating the need for a theory base or philosophy grounded in research. The calls for a theory base or philosophy of adult education suggested the need for moving beyond the technical aspects of program planning, objectives and delivery. Philosophy of adult education would pay attention to the purpose of adult education, to the coherence of means-ends, and to issues confronting the policies, theory and practice of the field.

A look at the "philosophy of" related fields, particularly the philosophy of education and of the social sciences, was instructive for philosophy of adult education. A framework for harmonizing the seemingly discordant sounds from one orientation to another and for accommodating the various perspectives was suggested by an examination of the related current "philosophy of" literature. Two-, three- and four-way configurations were readily found.

Suggested Frameworks

Two-part frameworks typically focused on the quantitative and qualitative debates in research methodology. These so-called "paradigm wars" were evidenced especially in the research literature of the 1980s.

The quantitative was typically equated with realism, empiricism and positivism, and the qualitative with idealism, hermeneutics and phenomenology. Current debates are often cast as positivist versus post-positivist. (See, for example, Boshier, 1989).

Three-way configurations characteristically portrayed positivism/empiricism, interpretive or hermeneutic, and critical as the three orientations. The three-way models of Brown (1985), Carr and Kemmis (1986), Bernstein (1985) and Bredo and Feinberg (1982) drew on the work of Habermas and his three modes of rationality. The three modes and corresponding philosophies of education typically noted were: the technical (positivist, empirical), the practical (hermeneutic, interpretive) and the emancipatory (critical).

Four-part frameworks offered varied additions to the three-way configurations. Some frameworks grounded in sociology or a related field added structuralism as the fourth orientation (see for example Rossi, 1982 and Johnston, 1983). However, little was found in the philosophy of education to warrant the use of this as a fourth orientation.

A primary candidate for the fourth orientation in a four-way configuration appeared to be a broad-based theme emerging across disciplines. That theme seemed increasingly to be the subject of inquiries or critiques centering on the modern condition of science, society, research and action. As evidenced in a broad range of literature, the theme appears to be characterized by a revitalized interest in one or more of the following: metaphysical or speculative philosophy, process philosophy, use of metaphors, spirituality, intuitive knowing and post-modernism. The term "unitive" captured the features of this fourth orientation.

Based on evidence in the current literature of the philosophy of the social sciences and education, a four-way framework is offered consisting of (1) the Positivist/Analytic, (2) the Interpretive/Hermeneutic, (3) the Critical and (4) the Unitive.

The Four Orientations, Their Metaphors and Adult Education

Each of the orientations can be depicted in terms of its basic philosophical presuppositions and its stance toward five areas of primary interest to philosophers of education: (1) the focus of inquiry, (2) inquiry methods, (3) teacher/teaching, (4) learner/learning, and (5) program and curriculum models. Additionally, a reframing of adult education theory and practice can be enhanced via the use of metaphors for the conversation.

The Positive-Analytic Orientation: The Machine or Market Metaphor

The basic presuppositions include the belief that things (reality) exist as they are, separate and independent of the knower or how they are known. Reality is known by discovering the law like regularities that govern the existence or occurrences of phenomena. Events are knowable in material terms, either empirically or analytically. The object of knowing is prediction, explanation and control. Speculative, metaphysical, moral or spiritual claims are generally rejected as having no meaning and no claim to knowledge. (Later positivism and analysis acknowledged that values might be knowable if the proper methods of inquiry were developed to discover the general laws covering them.)

Inquiry congruent with the positivist orientation focuses on facts, sensory data, and language as a "given." The inquiry concentrates on establishing correspondence between what is given (reality) and what we claim to know about what is given. Teaching focuses on techniques and treatments. The teacher becomes the expert, the giver of knowledge (as a commodity packaged for the marketplace) and the shaper of behavior. The learner is likely to be viewed as spectator, observer and recipient (user or purchaser) of the knowledge. The program or curriculum is apt to converge on the factual knowledge to be learned, objectives stated as behavioral outcomes and the management of the learning environment and delivery.

The Interpretive Orientation: The Body or Organism Metaphor

Characteristic of the basic presuppositions is the relationship between the knower and the known. Reality is personal and individual, given in experience and mediated by the experience and interpretation of the knower. The purpose of knowing is understanding, making meaning of the experience and establishing coherence among the phenomena or relationships known. Personal knowing is values embedded and may include the speculative and intuitive. The object of inquiry is human understanding.

The focus of inquiry is the personal experience or narrative. Methodologies include phenomenological bracketing and narrative explication. The teacher is a question-poser, seeking to inspire learners to explore into meanings and engaging learners in discourse, internally and with others as thinking subjects. The learner becomes a participant in and of the personal experience, giving birth to rationality through the disclosure of meanings personally and intersubjectively. Program development concentrates on developing learning opportunities to develop human potential (creativity, human understanding, identity).

The Critical Orientation: The Game Metaphor

Reality and knowledge are dialectical and socially constructed through the use of language and social conventions for communicating about things. What is offered as knowledge is ideologically based, rooted in belief systems that are culturally constructed and that do not acknowledge the values or biases which ground what is called knowledge. The object of acts of knowing is to uncover distortions in language and communication that would keep us from knowing what would set us free. Knowing incorporates both the positivist and interpretive orientations. Knowledge and values interpenetrate. Behavior and actions are rule-governed rather than law-governed and the rules of the game are socially constructed.

The subject of study/inquiry is the critique of ideology, the conditions of communication and action, the rules of the game and the distortions of the language used to express experience and make knowledge claims. The methodology directly and actively involves the learners affected by the situation and communication. Teaching and learning are interchangeable acts. Methodologies include participatory or action research. Validity proceeds from the community of knowers/investigators and is intersubjectively based. Teaching includes challenging ideologies, belief systems, rules of the game and power differential through fostering dialogue in an atmosphere unhindered by established and sometimes repressive beliefs, habits and patterns of thought. The program or curriculum becomes the means to create or gain access to undistorted knowledge. Through program development, knowledge is organized and treated in the context of power, with attention to who "has" what knowledge and how it can be made available in a fair and equitable manner. Learning opportunities are designed to remove distortions and misrepresentations in communication and habits of thinking.

The Unitive Orientation: The Art Metaphor

Reality is an interrelated, interdependent system, an event or occasion, an act or engagement with the unity of things. It is a social construction, but a construction based on engagement with the phenomena, event or condition. It includes mind, energy and spirit. Knowing honors the three previous orientations and is additionally about the patterns that connect. Knowing and acting are value laden and are both logical and aesthetic.

The areas of inquiry of the previous three orientations are of interest to the unitive orientation. In addition, this orientation seeks consciousness and wisdom about transformation of the conditions (e.g. distortion or misrepresentation) and about the connectedness of facts, interpretations and critical action. Inquiry and knowledge rely on methods from the other three orientations and may add intuiting, visioning, imaging and creative imagination. The lines between teacher and learner break down, with each becoming a companion and co-creator in inquiry and learning. Teaching-learning is interdisciplinary, mutual, both inner-directed and outer-directed toward interdependent ends. The interaction is often described as organic interchange within community.

Harmonization

The art (e.g. music or dance) metaphor, the unitive orientation, suggests interesting possibilities for harmonizing the disparate perspectives on adult education. It holds the potential of accommodating the other parts of the framework without resorting to relativism because of its vision of community life, shared knowing and multiple modes of knowing. It does not, however, seem to be sufficiently developed to withstand analysis, interpretation or critique from the other orientations.

This study concludes on a note of unity in multiplicity (a criterion from art criticism) that confirms the multiple orientations rather than all collapsed into any one orientation. The contemporary conditions which adult education seeks to address seem best served by collective wisdom in the face of mistrust and dislike of any one single, overall scheme which would seek to unify all theory and practice. That collective wisdom is critical for recognizing what theory or action is appropriate to what circumstances or conditions.

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EXAMINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PRAGMATISM AND SOCIAL ACTION IN AMERICAN ADULT EDUCATION

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Abstract: A pragmatic rationale has provided a philosophic foundation for much of twentieth century American adult education. The purpose of this paper is to begin to trace the historical origins, evolution, and current expression of pragmatism in American adult education thought by attending specifically to the relation between pragmatism and social action. In this paper it is argued that Lindeman, through Dewey, first developed pragmatic ideas for adult education yet failed to clearly articulate what the relationship is between adult education and social action. It is further argued that Knowles prefers a technological emphasis in favor of critical and social change agendas. The current work of Brookfield, Cervero, and Mezirow is seen as revivifying the critical tradition first presented by Lindeman. Each, though, has a different perspective on the idea of social action. While certain pragmatic themes such as experienced-based and learner-centered education have remained central to adult education thought, the issues around adult education and social action remain problematic.

INTRODUCTION

The full extent of Charles Peirce's influence on American letters is yet to be known. He has been referred to as "the most versatile, profound, and original philosopher that the United States has ever produced" (Weiner, 1958, p. vi). What is certain about his influence, though, is that he gave articulation to an important philosophic movement which continues to have influence in education today. While Peirce proposed pragmatism as an epistemological theory of meaning defined in relation to the experiencing of specific objects, it was first James and then Dewey who extended Peirce's ideas into their respective fields of psychology and education (Moore, 1972). Dewey took pragmatism and made it the foundation for the progressive movement in American education. And it was through the influence of Dewey's pragmatism that the field of adult education established one of its first philosophical footings during the early 20th century when progressivism was at its zenith.

Moore (1972) maintains that there are at least three interpretations of pragmatism, depending on whether it is philosophic, psychological, or educational interests being discussed. Doubtless there are more. But the point of this essay is not to untangle these. Rather, I will make the assumption that educational pragmatism is articulated well enough for its influence to be seen when looking at adult education. That Dewey, with his emphasis on the role of experience, the scientific method, and education for citizenship, was the major articulator is undisputed. What is more important is to look at is how these ideas got expressed in adult education. In order to do that I will first borrow an overview of pragmatism developed by Elias and Merriam (1980) to provide a lens through which to look at the field of adult education. That lens will then be turned onto the thinking of Lindeman who is arguably the first pragmatic philosopher of adult education. Using Elias and Merriam as well as Lindeman for illustration should provide a grounding from which to look at pragmatism's historic reach into the present thought of adult education. Along the way we will look at the work of Knowles for its pragmatic influences and then examine more current pragmatic interests in the work of Mezirow, Brookfield, and Cervero. The central thesis is this: While the role of experience, the emergence of learning from practical application, and the individual focus have remained relatively consistent in the thought and practice of adult education, it is the view of adult education's relationship to social action that has tended to shift over the years.

PRAGMATISM

Elias and Merriam (1980) effectively suggest with their work that there are several prominent philosophic influences in adult education, not the least of which are humanism and behaviorism. But it is also just as clear that the pragmatism of Dewey has had a profound influence upon the goals, methods, and consequences of adult education; it "has had a greater impact on the adult education movement in the United States than any other single school of thought" (Elias & Merriam, 1980, p. 45). Elias and Merriam go on to argue that many of the basic principles of adult education originated in pragmatic thought: a pedagogy focused on the needs and interests of students; a problem-solving rather than subject-centered focus; the centrality of experience in curriculum, its utilitarian goals, and its ideas about social responsibility. Dewey (1938) first articulated the progressive educational emphasis on experience as a focus for learning as a reaction to the subject-based authoritarianism of liberal educational thought. Rather than seeing schooling as preparation for life, progressive thought saw life as constant learning and chose people and their needs as the focus, not the transmission of culturally significant knowledge. Elias and Merriam (1980) outline the major positions of educational pragmatic thought:

> It accepts the methods of science for understanding the human person and solving human problems....Pragmatism accepts both the relativism and pluralism of world views. This attitude is most in keeping with the nature of human persons and the evolving world. The centrality of human experience is another dimension of pragmatic thought. Experience is placed in opposition to all authoritarian ways of arriving at knowledge. Pragmatism emphasizes the consequences of action in the determination of truth or goodness. Thus, there are no absolutes in knowledge or morality. A final concern is its emphasis on social reform as a legitimate concern of philosophers. (pp. 47-48)

Given this overview, Elias and Merriam enumerate several themes which characterize pragmatic educational thinking. It contains a broadened view of education, one not restricted to traditional subjectcenteredness. Learning is thus seen in socialization, lifelong, practical, and experiential contexts. Pragmatism is focused on personal needs, which leads to a psychology of individualism and self-direction. Methodologically it is focused on experimentation and problem solving. The traditional authoritarian relationship between teacher and student is replaced by an interactive one where learning is based in the experience of the student and the teacher acts as a guide in arranging educational conditions. Finally, within the progressive tradition, education is seen as an instrument of social change. Dewey (1916, 1938) argues for a pedagogy where students are taught to be critical thinkers. The logic thus suggests that "in liberating the learner, a potential was released for the improvement of society and culture" (Elias & Merriam, 1980, p. 47). The next section will take a look at how many of these themes are first illustrated in the thinking of Lindeman.

LINDEMAN

It takes but a few moments to sketch the congruency between Lindeman's (1926) ideas about adult education and pragmatist educational philosophy, at least as far as some of the more explicit tenets are concerned. For example, Lindeman is a staunch anti-traditionalist: "The approach to adult education will be via the route of situations, not subjects...In conventional education the student is required to adjust himself [sic] to an established curriculum; in adult education the curriculum is built around the student's needs and interest" (p. 8). Much of Lindeman's thought is structured by this notion of "adjustment." Whereas traditional education forced the student to adjust to its needs, Lindeman sees adult education as aiding the adjustment of adults: "Every adult finds himself [sic] in specific situations...which call for adjustments...Texts and teachers play a new and secondary role in this type of education; they must give way to the primary importance of the learner...the resource of highest value is the learner's experience" (p. 9). Lindeman ties meaning to experience, thought, and action: "experience is....doing something....doing something that makes a difference..[and] knowing what difference it makes" (p. 138). For the pragmatists, knowledge emerges from experience. This is both a philosophical and practical viewpoint which is still much in evidence in current adult education thought and practice.

Lindeman's ideas are not so simply arrayed, however, for they are intertwined with two rather amorphous concepts: ideas about psychological growth and development and the nature of social collectivism. Underlying his thinking is the idea, following apparently from Dewey, that if individuals are provided the opportunities to critically engage their thinking and action, then somehow society will be the better for it. Individual growth is "a process of integrating emotions with thought, an evolving capacity for feeling more deeply and thinking more clearly" (p. 172). This is a process of being critical: "The first step toward liberation is taken when an individual begins to understand what inhibits, frustrates, subjugates him [sic]....most of the barriers to freedom have been self-constructed, self-induced" (p. 71). But Lindeman does not ignore "the fact that many of the forces which enslave us are environmental....[therefore we] need more knowledge concerning those external factors of which our behavior is a constant function" (p. 74). Lindeman tries to resolve this tension by arguing that "a sense of freedom arrives when we become sufficiently intelligent [intelligence for him is a developed rather than inherited characteristic] to face both ourselves and our environments critically....freedom is a creative relatedness between personality and the manageable aspects of the universe" (p. 78). While Lindeman stops short of being prescriptive of how to do this, he nonetheless attempts to array the complexity of these factors.

What Lindeman does not do is directly relate an individual criticalness for growth and development to the complicated issue of social reform. What he does do, however, is introduce notions of power and its connection to social relationships. After developing the argument that control over nature is a reasonable measure of humankind's success in using knowledge, Lindeman then argues that "we know how to govern people by coercion. But we have thus far failed completely in devising procedures for socializing power" (p. 41). Coercion in this sense means that social relationships are inequitably negotiated. The closest Lindeman comes to describing the "socializing" of power is when he says that "no human can safely be trusted with power until he has learned to exercise power over himself [sic]" (p. 41). Ostensibly, this has something to do with being critical, but Lindeman does not develop the connection. Nor does he make any attempt to understand the relational nature of society and power as, for example, Apple (1979) and other sociologists (see Whitty, 1985) of school knowledge have done.

While much of Lindeman's argument is made in terms of an individual psychology and its significance for the meaning of adult education, he says finally "that evolving personalities follow the path of learning in an attempt to adjust themselves to a world in which knowledge leads to power...We must now recognize the fact that these qualities...become meaningful only when seen in social contexts" (p. 147). From this position Lindeman sets up his argument for adult education's relation to social change. First he argues that individual interests must be aggregated in collective action or "suffer the defeat of those interests. Collectivism is the road to power, the predominant reality of modern life" (p. 153). Recognizing that competing interests among groups is a source of social conflict, Lindeman argues that adult education "is an agitating instrumentality for changing life" (p. 165). Although he makes this comment in reference to individual change, he goes on to position individual change in a social context: "Adult education will become an agency of progress if its short-time goal of self-improvement can be made compatible with a long-time, experimental but resolute policy of changing the social order" (p. 166). The nature of that changing social order is not clear. But Lindeman's entire argument can be seen as a critique of the scientific specialization and industrialization of modernism. While Lindeman saw the necessity of what he termed vocational education (a reference to instrumental and technical improvement), his hopes lay in a more libratory educational force. In this hope he reveals an essential pragmatic issue which is still a source of conflict in the thought and practice of adult education today.

KNOWLES AND "THE MODERN PRACTICE"

Two points can be quickly made about Knowles' relation to the pragmatic tradition. He has resolutely incorporated its individual and experiential focus while largely failing to address much of education's potential for social reform or even its relation to particular contexts. The influence of pragmatism can be most clearly seen in Knowles' principles of andragogy (1970, 1980, 1984, 1989) where his emphasis on learner-centered needs, the role of experience, and the value of self-direction reflect the pragmatic tradition. Knowles begins to work toward the social context of education with his readiness to learn principle. In that he argues that adults' inclinations to learning are engendered by the demands of their social roles which in turn are dependent upon developmental life stages. But this effectively keeps education in a psychological frame by focusing on individuals relating to developmental roles. In Lindeman's sense, education then becomes an adjustment. But in Knowles' terms, even the vague connections with social reform that Lindeman suggests are lost in the emphasis on the individual. It remains the individual's responsibility to adjust to the world and the purpose of education is to assist that adjustment.

Perhaps the closest Knowles comes to considering the social reform tradition of pragmatism is in his view of adult education as a response to helping adults adjust to an ever-increasing change in a technological world (Knowles, 1962/77, 1970, 1980, 1989). What Knowles has steadfastly maintained for nearly thirty years is that the major adult experience is one of an "**accelerating pace** of change, one consequence of which is the quickening rate of obsolescence of human beings" (1989, p. 131; original emphasis). It is important to note in this respect the language Knowles uses to describe the mission of adult education and its consequences. Knowles views a changing world in which humans are "lagging farther and farther behind" and "the only hope now seems to be a crash program to **retool** the present generation of adults with the **competencies** required to **function** adequately in a condition of perpetual change" (1980, p. 36; this is verbatim from the 1970 edition; emphasis added). Knowles sees adult education as developing the "kind of citizen visualized to be required for the maintenance and progress of that society" (1980, p. 36). It is perhaps not accidental that Knowles refers to his views of practice as "modern," for, like all of us, Knowles is very much a product of his times, even though he claims to be "free of any single ideological dogma" (1989, p. 112). This period, running essentially from the '20s to the '60s is often referred to as the "modern" or machine age; it is a time when a dominant ideology suggested technological answers to all problems. So, in a sense, Knowles remains consistent with his perhaps unintended metaphor: humans in contest with the sweep of the machine age.

With technological issues as his major concern, there is virtually no recognition of inequitable power relationships characteristic of social situations. Nor is the issue being raised regarding whose society is being maintained. Certainly Knowles celebrates cultural diversity but he naively assumes a social parity for all groups, at least as far as his technical view of adult education is articulated. The mission for adult education remains more psychologically focused: "To develop a total environment conducive to human growth and self-actualization" (1980, p. 38). Thus, while Knowles is able to see the force of society on the individual, he prefers to view those forces in technological terms and technological obsolescence becomes the nemesis. But no matter how he defines it, the force of society itself is not critically examined, nor is education seen as a vehicle for social reform.

"POSTMODERNISM" IN ADULT EDUCATION

Postmodernism is meant to mean more (or perhaps less) than just the relativity of partial understandings, as is common to its current epistemological use. It is used in juxtaposition to Knowles' use of "modern." Knowles' technological and competency-based notions of adult education are a reflection of a period that sought machine-age efficiency to questions of practice (e.g., the Tyler Rationale, distance learning). In the literal sense of postmodernism as past the modern period, there is a continuation of the earlier pragmatic themes of Dewey and Lindeman in current thought about adult education practice. In a sense, current discussions of adult education's relations to society can be seen as a neo-conservative movement in a liberal context: an attempt to reclaim the impetus of original pragmatic intention, particularly its emphasis on reflection and critical thought, and see adult education as more than the technological efficiency of the Knowles generation. If education is a technical issue for the modern practitioner, then the postmodernist's issue is criticality.

The work of Brookfield, Cervero, and Mezirow will be briefly examined in this respect. It is important to note that all incorporate and reflect basic pragmatic values in their views. The role of experience, a problem-centered and person-based pedagogy, an interactional instructional process, and an anti-traditionalist stance are all visible in their work. What all three also resurrect from the pragmatic tradition is the use of critical reflection in adult education. Brookfield (1986) discusses the role of critical reflection in adult learning. Cervero (1988, 1989), raises the issue in respect to the practice of adult educators themselves. And Mezirow (1981, 1985, 1989) attempts to make explicit the connections between individual critical reflection and collective social action. Where the nuances become more visible is in their separate views on the role of education in social reform.

Brookfield (1986) perhaps represents the clearest example of an attempt to link Knowles' andragogical views with the libratory pragmatism of Lindeman. Whereas Knowles locates the development of learning needs solely within the prerogatives of the learner, Brookfield presents a more critically engaged and confrontive adult educator. He talks about education being "centrally concerned with the development of a critically aware frame of mind" (p. 17). The role of the adult educator is "to present learners with critically aware frame of mind" (p. 17). The role of the adult educator is "to present learners with alternatives to their current ways of thinking, behaving, and living" (p. 19). Brookfield takes on the development of autonomy, which he defines "as the possession and awareness of a range of alternative possibilities" (p. 58), as a major goal of education. Autonomy is explicitly connected with self-directed learning. Adult learners become more autonomous as they become more self-directing. This is a process of coming "to view their personal and social worlds as contingent and therefore accessible to individual and collective interventions" (p. 58). Thus self-directed learning is a function of learning to act in autonomous ways: adult learners "are realizing their autonomy in the act of learning and investing that act with a sense of personal meaning" (p. 58). Knowles would tend to see autonomy more in Maslow's terms of self-actualizing whereas Brookfield defines it in a more critical sense of being able to make critically valid choices among alternative courses of thought and action. Brookfield says it this way:

> The external technical and the internal reflective dimension of self-directed learning are fused when adults come to appreciate the culturally constructed nature of knowledge and values and when they act on the basis of that appreciation to reinterpret and recreate their personal and social worlds. In such a praxis of thought and action is manifested a fully adult form of self-directed learning. (1986, p. 59).

Brookfield thus tries to meld Knowles' focus on the technical conditions with Lindeman's concern with developing personal meaning in a version of autonomy based on critical considerations of alternative thought and action. The focus is still largely on individual thought and action.

Cervero (1988)in his analysis of continuing professional education argues that educators attempt to maintain a value neutrality in their work by focusing on technical issues of process and unproblematically assuming consensus of educational goals. He argues further (1989) that professional educators, like professionals in any discipline, do not apply ready-made algorithms to their everyday practice. In actuality, they are making choices about what problems to solve as well as choices over the best means to solve them. The critical viewpoint Cervero proposes is an attempt to bring these issues of means and ends into careful scrutiny: "This approach stresses the need for professionals to be critically aware of the implications of these choices" (1988, p. 30). For Cervero, these choices are "wise action" which "means making the best judgment in a specific context for a specified set of ethical beliefs" (1989, p. 4). In this way Cervero questions and suggests a process to continue to question the technical emphases of the Knowles generation. Because he sees professional practice and educators' role in continuing professional education as an interconnected network of social, political, and ethical relationships, educators cannot operate in a moral or political vacuum. They must become critically reflective over not only the means of the efforts but also the ends to which they are directed: "Continuing professional educators must understand ethical and political as well as technical dimensions of their work" (1988, p. 37). Cervero thus develops another facet of the critical framework proposed by Dewey by bringing the reflective process to adult education itself. But while it is directive of an engaged critical process, the critical viewpoint proposes no specific agenda for social reform.

Mezirow has provided probably the most extended description and analysis of the critical process in adult education (see, for example, 1981, 1986, 1989). In this analysis he has had to deal with the relationship between adult educator practice and social action. While his critics charge that he has neglected this relationship (see, for example, Collard & Law, 1988; Hart, 1990), he has actually, although not always unequivocally, addressed this issue. While he claims that the real task of adult educators is to facilitate the kind of learning conducive to perspective transformation (he and Brookfield are quite close on this), Mezirow also sees the critical process necessary for such change as leading the learner "to take action to change social practices and institutions which implement and legitimate the distorting ideologies which enthrall us" (1985, p. 147-8). This can include both individual and collective action: "if adult education is defined in terms of helping adults act to free themselves from dependency producing restraints as learners, it must include facilitation of both individual and collective actions in its mission" (1985, p. 149). But Mezirow is quick to qualify this: "Education for social action is an integral part of our responsibility...[but] we cannot assume the roles of leaders or organizers of social action, but we have a function which involves helping learners become aware..." (1985, p. 149). Mezirow ultimately claims that collective social action is only a "contingent and instrumental goal" (1989, p. 172) and makes an attempt to define the parameters of the relationship of the adult educator to social action:

> The educator may encourage the learner to critically reflect on specific taken-for-granted relationships which appear dependency producing or oppressive, but the learner makes his or her own decision about specific actions to be taken, if any. The educator can be a partisan but a partisan only in a commitment to fostering critical reflection and action. (1989, p. 173).

Here again we see Lindeman's emphasis on defining adult education in terms of personal meaning while also appreciating its social context. There is also an attempt to remain politically and ethically distant from the learner's situation even though the educator may be instrumental in bringing such matters to the conscious awareness of the learner.

So what we see in this post-Knowles generation is an attempt to revivify the explicit emancipatory themes of Dewey and Lindeman. The emphasis has also shifted away from the technical know-how of planning and instructional methodologies characteristic of the Knowles approach. It is not that Brookfield, Cervero, and Mezirow discount or ignore Knowles technical concerns. Rather, they are more willing to question critically not only the means of education but also its ends. Knowles spends little time concerned with the goal of adult education. For him it is a simple answer of providing a service to self-actualizing adults. The result is a better maintained society with more competently functioning adults. Brookfield redirects this endeavor into an effort to manage the development of autonomy in individual adult learners. He is suspicious of a felt needs approach and argues persuasively for a confrontive, praxis-oriented educator. Cervero questions the alleged value-neutrality of educational effort by calling for a critique of the social, political, and ethical viewpoints which frame that effort. Mezirow comes closest to elucidating a framework for how this critically works and in his work he wrestles with the conflicting value positions that a more critical form of adult education places the educator in. If there is a common theme, it has to do with being ever watchful of the distorting power of taken-for-granted ideologies either in their students, themselves, or in the practice and theory of their work.

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The Adult Education Movement in the 1950s

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Abstract: The purpose of this research is to revisit and analyze the "adult education movement" in the 1950s using a social-historical perspective of social movements.

The 1950s: Divergent Views

The 1950s appears to be a decade in which adult education was in transition from the period between 1920s and the 1940s, when it was closely associated with workers' education and the industrial labor movement, to its present form as a field encompassing a broad array of educational initiatives with an institutional agenda. The 1950s has been characterized as the time when adult education was professionalized (Law, 1988, p. 56). Yet, throughout the 1950s, adult education was commonly referred to as a movement. So commonly, in fact, that a researcher today might assume that the notion of this movement was not only universally understood but also subscribed to universally. This research establishes that there were divergent views on the nature of this movement which generated important discourse among major players. This discourse ultimately shaped the future of adult education as a profession.

The purpose of this research is to revisit and analyze the views of Eduard Lindeman, a spokesperson for the Committee on Social Philosophy of the Adult Education Association (AEA), and the views espoused by the AEA in its annual reports, constitution, and other documents representing the general membership. Lindeman seemed to be a dark voice of adult education in the 1950s, lobbying for greater commitment by the AEA and adult educators to a movement which connected the individual to his or her community in order to facilitate social action (December, 1952). In contrast, the AEA was promoting itself as an organization to "spearhead" the movement while embracing all areas in adult education toward the professionalization of the field (First Annual Report, 1952). This research suggests that the adult education movement died with the birth of the AEA.

Research Framework

Although understanding the historical relationship between adult education, workers' education and social movements is critical to this analysis, a broader conceptual examination of social movements is needed to compliment the historical evidence. As Rubenson points out, there has been little research into the role of education in social movements among North American researchers. "This omission in the literature of counterhegemonic education might be interpreted as another example of the institutionalization of education and its contribution to the dominant culture's hegemony" (1989, p. 58). Therefore, this research has incorporated a social-historical understanding of social movements into its historical framework. This understanding was developed, for the most part, from the writings of Dewey, Gerlach and Hine, Piven and Cloward, Finger, and Tilly. The historical context was developed from letters, proposals, minutes, organizational documents, and journal articles, most of which were found in the George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University.

The assumptions of this author are, first, that social movements are expressions of social conflict and transformations which seek to both preserve and alter social hierarchies and values; and second, that education within any social movement becomes a site of contestation where notions of ethics, history, cultural values, and social goals are influenced and codified.

A Conceptualization of Social Movements

Piven and Cloward emphasized collective defiance, in contrast to collective response as manifested in organizations and institutions, as the key to identifying social movements (1977, pp. 3-5). John Dewey looked at social movements as efforts to change institutions and power relations in order to achieve an "equitable system of human liberties" (1946, p. 113). Gerlach and Hine defined social movements to be radical, seeking fundamental change in contrast to developmental change (1970, p. xiii). In general, social movements should be analyzed within a conflict paradigm. Education within this paradigm seeks to integrate and commit individuals and groups to larger collective actions in order to achieve political goals and clarify societal ideals such as justice, liberty, and equality. In Dewey's words, "the power to think and to express thought is a power to do" (p. 113).

Recently there has been research into what is defined as "new social movements." Whereas the aim in "old social movements" was to achieve societal goals, in new social movements the aim is to achieve personal transformation centered on special interests. Social theorists see the 1970s as the pivotal time separating old social movements from new social movements (Tilly, 1985). Special interest or single interest movements have replaced the broader vision of old movements. Segmented groups as defined by class, race, gender or religion are not necessarily characteristic of new social movements. Whereas old movements analyzed problems in term of distribution of wealth and power, thereby seeking solutions in terms of redistribution, new movements see issues in redefining personal relationships with existing social and cultural institutions. Finger argues that "old movements fought for the realization of ideals of modernity (freedom, justice, emancipation, etc.), while new movements fundamentally question modernity" (1989, p. 16). Moreover, within the framework of new social movements, there exists greater social stability, reflecting a more entrenched status quo, as centralized efforts for social change are diffused into smaller single issue efforts.

Perspectives of the "Adult Education Movement"

The "adult education movement" was romanticized throughout the 1950s, uniting kindred souls of many of the most eminent adult educators--including Robert Blakely, Howard McClusky, Eduard Lindeman, Eleanor Coit, Malcolm Knowles, Paul Sheats, and Myles Horton. In order to understand the implications of this "movement" to adult education in the 1950s, we must briefly examine events between the 1920s and early 1950s. Though during this period tensions existed between workers' education and adult education (Bloom, 1989), adult education remained intimately associated with the industrial labor movement through workers' education (Kornbluh, 1987; Zacharakis-Jutz, 1991). Beyond the professional ranks of Lindeman, Coit, and Horton, the lifeblood of the labor movement was in the collective action of workers who utilized different forms of education toward attaining a better world. Going beyond the CIO labor movement, there is research which suggests that roots of adult education are in workers' education and social movements dating back to the nineteenth century (Harrison, 1961). As the labor movement waned in the 1940s, workers' education became more utilitarian and technical, devoid of its philosophical and ideological roots, paving the way for a more institutional form of adult education.

In the First Annual Report of the AEA, 1952, several pages were devoted to describing the history of the adult education movement. In the 1920s, this movement "began to acquire the consciousness and organization of a major education movement" (June 1952, p. 5). The movement, as described in this document, was oriented toward self-improvement offered in museums, public schools, libraries and other places where individual education occurred. Adult education in the 1930s, according to the AEA, reflected hard economic times and focused more on economic gain and vocational skills. In the 1940s, this movement received fifteen million dollars to train war workers, and later more monies to support the G.I. Bill of Rights (p. 6). "The establishment of the Fund for Adult Education at approximately the same time (as the AEA) made private funds available for the development of the movement and provided it with a second chance to exert leadership in the total field of education" (p. 7). The formation of the AEA seems to be the culmination of events which moved adult education away from its radical roots in labor into the mainstream of education. Moreover, the AEA's history of the adult education movement failed to include labor education while embracing the growth of an institution and its professionals who grew dependent upon large sums of state and federal monies and university affiliations.

In 1952 the AEA's Committee on Social Philosophy developed its own "set of principles and values to guide the Adult Education movement [sic]" (December 1952, p. 1). Eduard Lindeman, as the spokesperson for the committee, argued that continuing education should not become formal, skill-center education. In contrast, it is an educational process which connects the individual to his or her community. To this committee, continuing education roots should be in local communities to facilitate methods of social action. In Lindeman's words, "I suppose the simplest way of saying that is that the people who give life and vitality to adult education are people who want to improve their community. They are not solely people who have the selfish desire of making themselves individuals that are a little smarter than somebody else. They have a community sense which leads them into action" (December 1952, p. 2).

Lindeman believed that adult educators must address issues of moral obligation to improve the life of the community. Yet, he warned that citizens should not become so narrow-minded that they fail to see how their problems and issues connect to the rest of the world. "Somewhere in American adult education there must be made a place for what we called in the beginning the expanding environment. We simply cannot have this good life any longer unless the whole world is moving in the same direction" (December 1952, p. 3). Lindeman saw an adult education movement in which local people would work and learn locally and then share these experiences and knowledge with the broader world community.

It appears, though, that this committee held the minority view. Early AEA documents promoted the organization as one "capable of spearheading a united, strong adult education movement" (June, 1952, p. 11, and May 15, 1951). In actuality, the AEA sought to develop a diverse membership, representative of all types of adult education endeavors. In 1955, Adult Education published an article which asked nine preeminent adult educators to define adult education. Although several spoke of their field in terms of a movement, there were strong overtones favoring institutional adult education in university extension, high schools, libraries, etc. In general, this article suggests that adult education was an extension of individualized schooling for adults. Moreover, there was consensus that adult education include, in Paul Sheats' words, "all organized and planned activities in which man engages for the purpose of learning something" (1955, p. 134).

In the 1950s the adult education movement meant different things to different people. One perspective appears to have emphasized an institution, the AEA, the professionalization of adult education under an umbrella organization. Another perspective promoted citizen involvement as "the instrument for democratic realization" to address social and cultural problems (December, 1952, p. 4). Although professional membership dues to the AEA were satirized in one editorial (1954, p. 125), this research suggests that voices on the Committee for Social Philosophy were subsumed by those who saw adult education as an emerging profession.

Post-Mortem

Within this conceptual framework of social movements, education in and of itself can never be a movement. Social movements, both old and new, are collective actions of groups seeking power. Education, therefore, serves to be an instrument of larger collective efforts to negotiate power. In essence, it is a site of contestation.

In the 1950s, the field of adult education was unable to attach itself to a greater movement, such as the civil rights or peace movements, as it had done with the labor movement. Yet the field survived via large infusions of money and growing dependency upon corporations, government, and universities. Even though there were voices, such as Lindeman's, calling for adult educators to revisit their roots in social movements, once the AEA was formed the field ceased to be community centered and became more for individual advancement. Clearly, this research suggests that adult education as embodied in the AEA had lost touch with its radical roots and became appropriated within the social and cultural status quo. Moreover, an argument can be made that the Committee on Social Philosophy was created to diffuse radical voices within the AEA.

The transformation which adult education experienced in the 1950s illustrates the evolution between old social movements and new social movements. Prior to the 1950s, adult education was arguably dedicated to the labor movement, an old social movement with clearly defined goals of economic and social redistribution. The AEA as an umbrella organization symbolizes the fragmentation of the adult education agenda into special interests. Goals and political perspectives were no longer as important as adult education processes, methodologies, or technologies. As lamented by Robert Blakely throughout the 1950s, there could be no adult education movement for there were no unifying philosophies or goals other than to have an organization (1952). Ironically, the AEA saw itself as the organization which would "build a stronger adult education movement" (May 15, 1951).

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SYMPOSIUM

RECONSTRUCTING THE ADULT EDUCATION ENTERPRISE: THE VALUE OF FEMINIST THEORY FOR ADULT EDUCATION

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Kathleen Loughlin, St. Joseph's College
Susan Meyer, New York City Department of Personnel

Abstract: The purpose of this discussion is to correct the unmodified androcentric emphasis that exists in the field of adult education more than twenty years after the second wave of feminism. The discussion will show that feminist theory carries a strong educational impetus and introduces themes and questions which are vital for a non-oppressive, future-oriented adult education theory and practice.

INTRODUCTION

In the last twenty years a diverse and constantly expanding body of feminist theory and analysis has emerged. A theory which arises out of practical concerns and which carries practical implications is only alive when disagreements are taken up and discussed. In this symposium we will present such a debate, starting from the shared assumption that feminism is of vital importance for developing a comprehensive concept of emancipatory education. Although we diverge in our understanding of issues as well as ways of bringing feminist perspectives to fruition in our educational endeavors, we propose to model a style of debate which is based on feminist rather than androcentric principles.

The discussion will center around two different positions. The first is a gender-based perspective which is firmly anchored in an exploration of a specifically female experience. This position challenges the presumption that so-called "general" analyses are gender-neutral and can speak to the experience of both men and women. It further proposes that women's experience contains questions, problems, and values which - if acknowledged and understood - contain important lessons for all. Thus, this position explores sexual difference in order to make accessible a generally important educational potential. The second position will expand the analysis to a more comprehensive, non-gender based perspective by arguing that an exclusive focus on women's experience may obfuscate other oppressive social assumptions that interact with sexual difference. These presentations will explore how an understanding of the connection between women's oppression and other forms of oppression create challenges for adult education theory and practice, and how a non-gender based philosophy of life incorporates the "feminine principle" but sees this principle embodied in a diversity of experience. The implications of such a changed analysis and changed vision for adult education will be explored in terms of new themes, questions, and concerns introduced into the educational landscape.

The concepts that inform this presentation are rooted in phenomenological theory and the notion that interpretation is inextricably linked to the phenomenological field of the researcher as well as the subject. From this stance, if we believe that how we know is tied to who we are as a knower, we must also accept the validity and importance of a gender-based research perspective. In attempting to understand thinking and learning, one examines the constructs of the thinker, identifying patterns that emerge.

In setting the framework for her discussion of the meaning of women's daily experience, Aptheker (1989) speaks of Rich, Woolf and others beginning to define female experience by looking at and interpreting the lives of women. She (Aptheker, 1989, p. 13) reminds us that "[o]ne way to understand women's consciousness is to make visible the culture it creates." This examination of "dailiness" as a search for metaphors can lead us to the identification of patterns of action and a greater understanding of one kind of contextual thinking.

These concepts are not new, yet feminist researchers still seem to find themselves in the position of having to defend this stance. Eichler (1988) supports the notion of single-gender research as a valid part of the existing body of research in her description of non-sexist methodology, warning against androcentricity, overgeneralization, gender insensitivity and double standards. From a comparative analysis of many studies specific to an age group, gender, ethnic group, one may then begin to draw comparisons and make generalizations about people in general.

An innovative way of thinking about how corporate culture learns is outlined by Senge (1990), who argues that flexibility and contextual thought are assets that will be valued in the learning corporation. Contrast this to Harrigan's (1977) description of the prevailing male metaphor in the 70's - sports and military jargon. This concentration on flexibility is also evident in the work on multiple intelligences by Gardner and Orstein. The latter, in fact, refers to the patchwork quilt of talents in the brain, a metaphor that, along with tapestry and gardening images weaves through writings about the experience of women. Senge's model contains traits described by researchers including Angrist and Almquist (1975) and Belenky et al. (1987) as particularly female. Angrist and Almquist (1975), for example, suggested that women have always exhibited great flexibility, handling numerous and changing demands and performing a wide variety of roles. This closely parallels the new norm for the successful manager. This talent is abundantly evident in biographical data on women. It can be seen in Maxine Hong Kingston's and Amy Tan's writings about co-existing in Chinese and American cultures, in Aptheker's (1989) descriptions of Armenian, Jewish and Japanese women balancing between enhancing their position as women and preserving the traditional bonds of racial and cultural security and in the description of an inner-city Black woman about her life (Meyer 1986): "I have two vocabularies ... one I use at home and one that I use when I'm in my own college setting ... I live this two-way life."

It is an analysis and comparison of these and other descriptions of how women live their lives - by examining the phenomenological fields of women and how each develops her own personal constructs - that we can enhance our understanding of learning and knowing. Constant comparison of the results of studies of individual groups - whether gender-specific or any other single group - enriches our fund of knowledge and builds our understanding of people in general.

CLAIMING THE AUTHENTIC SELF

K. Loughlin

To speak of a feminist *gender-based perspective* is to suggest a commonality in the experience of "being a woman." While an expanding body of feminist theory seeks to identify and research this commonality, the underlying premise that gender is a social construct calls attention to the necessity of understanding gender "in the context of class and race similarity" (Spelman, 1988, p. 104). With this caveat acknowledged, this presentation speaks to the importance of adult educators' addressing both the insights of studies identifying gender-based perspectives within specific cultural contexts *and* the voices of women within diverse cultures.

This presentation explicates an initial study which attempts to gain insight into the development of feminist change agents within the United States by analyzing the learning experiences of twenty-four women - Caucasian and middle-class - who are committed to societal transformation related to women's issues. Data were collected in semi-structured open-ended interviews and analyzed using a modified form of the constant comparative method.

The commonality of their experience and the basis for identifying a gender-based perspective is their shared process of knowing and constructing meaning from life experiences. A model for understanding person as process, centered in authenticity, is derived from the data. Two models for claiming the authentic self are identified.

The process of these women radically claiming their authentic self is interactive and involves engaging their Will, constructing a context, developing a language of empowerment, understanding reflectively, and integrating a transformed psychocultural identity. These women experience this process as a *praxis* in which their holistic knowing of life experiences facilitated developing a feminist vision of society. This vision includes two interrelated dimensions: a critique and transformation of "the known" that predominates in the functionings of United States society and a critique and transformation of that societal systemic "power structure."

The presentation's conclusion is a call to adult educators to attend to the insights of this gender-based perspective by committing ourselves to the facilitation of the process of holistic knowing. Four specific implications for practice which would reflect this restructuring of adult education are: (1) developing a community of knowers within educational institutions, programs, and encounters, (2) exploring the influences of diverse ways of knowing on the creation of knowledge, (3) facilitating the process of centering one's holistic knowing within one's authenticity, and (4) developing a connected and experientially-focused language of education.

UNLEARNING INTERNALIZED OPPRESSION

N. Karlovic

This presentation draws attention to the fact that a focus on gender is a necessary but insufficient stance to approach dialogue about adult education research and practice. An exclusive focus on gender only exacerbates the recent tendency in adult education in the U.S. to consider frequency counts of women's involvement with publications, associations, forums, and hiring committees to be evidence that any perceived problems regarding inclusion and access are dealt with and now the "real" issues can emerge. This dualistic sociocultural numbers game doesn't even begin to get at the dynamics of internalized oppression undergirding the adult education enterprise. It is only when internalized oppression is named that those who hold oppressor and oppressed roles can begin to choose to think and act differently, to attend to related factors such as race and class. The point is that people who live lives of internalized oppression are unable to embrace the full range of humanness of which we are capable. Additionally, to do nothing more than name the oppression is to only carry the process one step further, to identify the biases in what we currently know and practice. This often leads to readable and poignant studies and what for some is an obsessive concern with language ("Why should we call the students 'leaver' instead of 'drop-outs'?"). The result is a repeated and loud request for justification of a substitute agenda for the future.

Feminist researchers (scholars, practitioners) rarely get to the all-important next steps - to unfold the practical implications of the reformulation and rethinking of what is valuable in adult education and society as a whole. The difficult question is one of re-vision: What would the adult education enterprise look like were this proposed stance to be adopted?

First, no one way of thinking about and doing adult education would be legitimated as the dominant (and thus superior) approach.

Second, practitioners and researchers alike could begin to unlearn the internalized oppression dynamics we have been socialized to enact and perpetuate. As Sally Kempton (1970) said, "It is hard to fight an enemy who has outposts in your head." Unlearning internalized oppression could result in language characterized by control as well as care (intelligent and zestful; supportive and supported). A contextualized practice could involve multiple-options problem-solving approaches based on an acknowledgment of the multiple foundations of gender, race, nationality, and cultural identity; it could involve informed, timely access to resources; an equalization of power and control mechanisms; and flexible, responsive, accountable institutional decision-making.

Third, new and different questions would be asked. Further, we could empower adult education participants to pose equally insightful questions. Together, we could mutually negotiate a sustained, reflexive dialogue regarding the future directions of the adult education enterprise.

DEVELOPING A NEW SURVIVAL LEARNING

M. Hart

In this presentation I will take up and further develop some of the major themes discussed so far (dailiness, contextuality, diversity, flexibility, holistic knowing, the authentic self, individual and social transformation). My presentation will focus on the following points:

1. "Women" never exist in abstraction from other categories, such as race, class, sexual orientation, age, etc., and "women's experience" is a dynamic, changing reality, where "privilege and penalty" (Collins 1990) intertwine, and whose meaning shifts with changing identifications and alliances. We cannot be absolved from developing a differentiating as well as comprehensive theory by acknowledging, on the one hand, that "class and race are important categories, too," and proceeding, on the other hand, to talk about "women" or "women's experience." These kinds of generalizations always signify a silent acceptance of class or skin color privilege.

2. Claiming my authentic self includes learning how to speak for myself, not others, and to acknowledge the importance as well as relativity of "my" experience. But my desire to understand this experience leads to the awareness that it is different from others', and that it is limited. Such awareness can only be shaped into knowledge through "dialogue and empathy" (Collins 1990).

3. By recognizing that "difference" is woven into the overall matrix of domination (Collins 1990), where difference translates into inferiority, I commit myself to transforming ideologies and institutions which institutionalize difference for the purpose of exploitation. To find points of connection ("dialogue") is therefore inseparable from being suspicious of false connectedness, and from acknowledging conflict (Thistlethwaite 1989).

4. From this perspective an inclusive, or "holistic", view emerges which is based on heterogeneity and diversity rather than homogeneity (as is Eurocentric, masculinist thought, and also much of white feminist theory). It is holistic in the ecological sense of being based on a fundamental respect for life, and for multiplicity, diversity, and interdependence, without which life is not possible.

5. I therefore further claim that we (as a culture) need to gain a new orientation towards life, where life is sacred, not death, and where the activities and experiences of those who do the "quiet and invisible work" (Shiva 1989) of creating and sustaining the complex, fragile fabric of life become the center of analysis. As educators we must seek to learn from the experiences of those who are the bearers of important knowledge and "oppositional categories" (Shiva 1989): the knowledge of what it means to bear the cost of "progress and development," and the knowledge of survival. Today it is mostly women, as nurturers, caretakers or "othermothers" (Collins 1990) of individuals and communities, as Third World agriculturalists, or tribal environmentalists (Shiva 1989), whose daily, unspectacular efforts continuously reweave the torn web of life. However, the principle underlying their work is "not exclusively embodied in women, but is the principle of activity and creativity in nature, women, and men" (Shiva 1990, p. 52). Shiva calls it the "feminine principle," because of its orientation towards the sanctity of life, creativity, diversity, interconnectedness, and continuity between the human and the natural, a principle which has been denied under the auspices of a masculinist Western civilization.

6. Faced with the ongoing destruction of the physical and psychological foundations of our existence, we need to develop a new kind of "survival learning," going beyond the training of skills for meaningless or unhealthy jobs (or careers), and introducing entirely different themes, concerns and questions. For instance, we need to ask how to apply dialogue and empathy, which signify a new "epistemological approach" (Collins 1990) but also the "passionate energy" (Thistlethwaite 1989) of anger and conflict within an educational context; how to rethink the categories of "adult" and "adult experience," so they do not universalize the partial experience of privileged groups; how to overcome the social passivity and exclusive focus on individual-psychological processes that characterize the adult education enterprise, and how to see transforming one's meaning perspective as inseparable from transforming social and economic institutions; and, finally, what are the knowledges, the abilities and skills that are needed to guarantee our survival.

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Symposium: Popular Education for Social Change - Moving Beyond Freire

A Conceptual Framework for Popular Education in the Post-Freireian Perspective

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Connie White, University of Tennessee
Hal Beder, Rutgers University

Popular education for social change is carried on by different groups in a wide range of social and political settings. Efforts to conceptualize this process are evolving in an international dialogue and sharing of practice by adult educators working in rural locales; amidst civil wars; and within cities, small towns, and rural areas of advanced industrialized countries, as well as developing countries.

Paulo Freire continues to contribute a powerful voice to the understanding and design of educational process, a "pedagogy of the oppressed" (Freire 1970) for the empowerment of people committed to a more egalitarian and democratic society. He has articulated a vision of literacy as "reading the world" rather than "reading the word," linking people's efforts to understand their place in society, their capacity for personal transformation, and for changing the social, economic, and political conditions in which they live (Freire and Macedo).

Freire's ideas have been attacked and celebrated, co-opted and inverted in their meaning in various historical settings. American adult educators based in community settings have often struggled to apply his methods without the support of broader social and political movements. Others working in traditional institutions have tried to adapt this methodology within the constraints of state curricular, the national GED test or a local institutional mission. Other adult educators have attempted to separate Freire's teaching ideas from his support of the necessity for social revolution.

As we enter the 1990s, popular educators continue to seek powerful ways to link education with movements for social change. This symposium proposes a conceptual approach to the analysis of popular education initiatives, which builds on Freire and the work of Antonio Gramsci. The speakers will apply that approach to several case studies of recent and ongoing popular education programs, including the education of parents as newly-empowered decision makers on Local School Councils in the Chicago Public Schools and the work of several groups to improve local school systems in the southern United States, who have come together at Highlander Research and Education Center in Tennessee. Finally, the symposium will consider the adequacy of Freire's concept of "conscientization" to explain the role of motivation, critical awareness and political participation in order to eliminate structural oppression.

In the first presentation an effort is made in order to delineate a conceptual framework for popular education using a "post Freireian perspective." Historical development has shown popular education as an alternative to the traditional adult education in its "compensatory and developmental modality" (CEAAL, 1990, p. 108). From the inception of the Lancaster model of schooling in the 19th century to the 20th century arguments of Gramsci for the development of "organic working class intellectuals" and Freire for the "pedagogy of the oppressed," the creation and reproduction of knowledge has been a constant site of conflict and struggle.

The concept of popular education can be analyzed from its methodological components in order to provide more clarity to the concept and its practice. These four dimensions are: a socio-cultural, political, democratic, and humanistic dimension. Each of these dimensions is related by its practice. The two following programs provide evidence of the practice of popular education, its organization, political participation, and the level of conscientization that enables participants to gain access to political power denied previously by bureaucratic institutions and repressive political machines.

Educating Parents As Decision Makers in Chicago Public Schools

An education research and advocacy group in Chicago, Designs for Chicago (DFC), began organizing African-American and Latino parents in low-income neighborhoods in 1981. The objective of this campaign was to educate parents of Chicago Public School students about organizing to improve their neighborhood schools. Over the next few years the experience of DFC and the parents enabled them to play a critical role in mobilizing community support for the passage of the 1988 Illinois state law to restructure the entire Chicago Public School system. The new law created an elected 11 member Local School Council (LSC) with a parent and community majority at each of the system's 540 schools. The law empowers the LSC to make policy in three key areas - principal selection, curriculum and lump-sum budgeting. It has been described as the "biggest change in American school control since the early 1900s" (Kirst, 1989). As an example of popular education and its practice, the discussion centers around the programs developed before, during and after the law was passed and contrasts them in approach and methodology to the official training offered by the Chicago Board of Education. The analysis of this case study is drawn from critical theory in the sociology of education as applied to primary/secondary education and to adult education and from the practice and theory of adult education for social action (Alinsky, Freire, Horton). Data was gathered through participant-observation and a qualitative analysis of how parents of urban public school students learned to become advocates for school reform. The study concludes that a popular education campaign such as the one active in the passage and implementation of the Chicago School Reform Law requires consistent synthesis of a strategy for action and reform goals with the practical day-to-day experience of parents trying to change their children's schools, including ongoing reflection and evaluation. The importance of these findings is that this model of a popular education campaign offers the possibility of reversing barriers to participation and increasing the power of parents in holding the school system accountable while educating parents for their new role. The study also analyzes the methods of adult education effective in achieving the goals of the campaign.

Changing Local Systems in the South

Popular educators in the South have always found in Highlander Center in Tennessee a place where community activists can share their experience and learn from each other. In the Spring of 1989 one such group of community activists from across the South came together at Highlander Center in Tennessee for a rural education workshop to discuss ways to change their local school systems. In the Highlander tradition of residential education the group lived together, shared their experiences and explored new ways of working in their respective places. The Center for Literacy Studies joined this effort to document local struggles, to add research from the literature and from the field, and to produce a report which could be used by education activists, community organizations, progressive policy makers and others. A report was issued that summarized the findings.

The focus of this presentation is not on statistics and stories, but on the broader issue of creating a process that seeks to enable grassroot citizens and their community to bring about social change. The workshop became a vital cross-cultural experience as activists from many different communities shared their experience. Blacks from Selma, Alabama talked about organizing school boycotts to change racist tracking practices with Native Americans from Robeson County, North Carolina, where chronic poverty and mistrust among the tricultural community of whites, blacks, and native Americans split the county and its schools. Activists from rural Appalachian communities in West Virginia, Kentucky and Tennessee who have fought consolidation and other barriers to parent involvement in the schools, white with black activists from Mississippi and Arkansas describe their work to build political power and be part of school decision making in some of the poorest counties in the nation. In the process of listening, reflecting, and discussing we learned that this process changes in how we think about each other, race, gender, culture. We found that there were many barriers to citizen involvement and the more removed from the community educational institutions become, the more barriers exist to citizen action. In this context another barrier to social change is that the existing structures for community input often seem to be out of touch with the broader community. In many cases the PTAs and PTOs and school boards did not include poor parents or people of color, therefore not making an effort in looking at how poverty and racism affect what is needed in the school. In conclusion, we can say that the importance of this research is that excluding parents from meaningful participation in school policy decision-making and from contributing to the curriculum, teaching and learning methods is one face of powerlessness common in the rural and small town South. How popular education can contribute to creating improved educational opportunities for themselves and their children is an important priority in those communities. Developing a motivation for change is essential in any popular education initiative. The following presentation provides a conceptualization of some of the issues in a Freireian-oriented model of popular education.

Conceptual Issues in Freire-Oriented Popular Education

As shown in the two case studies, participants learn to be critically aware of the social forces that control their lives. Critical awareness, in turn, motivates the learners to change the conditions which have oppressed them. This presentation will discuss three issues that derive from the centrality of conscientization in Freire's popular education theory.

1) **The motivational power of conscientization.** Some (Bunch, 1982), for example, believe that motivation to solve community problems derives from the reasoned belief that collective efforts will result in positive changes in the quality of life. While conscientization may stimulate initial motivation, motivation cannot be sustained in the absence of concrete material gain.
2) **The micro-macro problem.** While conscientization may result in local improvement at the grass root level, it generally fails to prescribe a process whereby the oppressive structure of the dominant society can be changed.
3) **The role of the educator.** Some claim that conscientization tends to place the educator in the role of the proselytizer and the propagandist. Can and should this be avoided?

The methodology of this research involves analysis of depth interviews, site visits, and published material. Data were collected in Chile, Mexico and Peru in 1987 and 1988. The importance of this research resides in that popular education, and the theory which supports it, has a great potential for redressing the inequality and injustice found in the United States. A critical assessment of popular education theory will abet popular education efforts.

In conclusion, we can say that the theoretical efforts to conceptualize the process and the projects initiated by many communities emphasize humanization as an essential element to strengthen people's capacity to work for change. It is also an invitation for those engaged in the educational process to learn about the culture and diversity represented in the classroom, the school and the street, too, and incorporate those elements in their curricula.

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ADULT EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE: QUESTIONS FOR SCHOLARSHIP AND PRACTICE

A SYMPOSIUM

Peggy Sissel, Rutgers University
Catherine McKinney, University of Georgia
Shauna Butterwick, University of British Columbia
John Peters, University of Tennessee
Tom Heaney, Northern Illinois University

Abstract: The purpose of this symposium is to address the issues which surround social action and community change work and its relation to adult education curricula, scholarship and practice.

INTRODUCTION

Peggy Sissel and Catherine McKinney

The invisible state and marginal status of the practice of adult education for social change has, in the past few years, been the subject of dialogue among scholars in adult education. This discussion is the result of the recognition that while the field has grown and developed throughout the 20th century, adult education which emphasizes democratic participation, social action and collective growth has been undermined by an ideology which stresses individual accomplishment, economic efficiency and a formalized educational structure marked by the parameters of measurability.

Jarvis and Peters (1990), in their Adult Education Quarterly review of the field's two most recent, comprehensive handbooks, sum up this phenomenon succinctly. Simply put, the field of adult and continuing education is currently being defined by organizations and programs which sponsor and fund adult education offerings. This being the case, an identity which is resultant of a funding-driven/market-driven structure falls far short of a broad perspective that engages all of the diverse elements that make up adult education, which is necessary in providing a cohesive foundation for practice and scholarship.

Both scholars and practitioners in the field recognize that adult education is many things. Yet adult education for social action and community change is only rarely acknowledged as an important, integral function of this field. When addressed, adult education for social action is politely referred to as "public affairs" education, which, as Jimmerson, Hastay and Long (1989) present it, is seen as relating more to middle class America debating the "great issues" than with coming to grips with the educational needs and struggles of the poor and disadvantaged.

The reasons for the marginalized status of adult education for social action are not entirely clear. While the out-of-school, self-directed educational experience of individuals has been recognized as a legitimate phenomenon that merits extensive study and research, the out-of-school, "other-directed" educational experiences of adults that take place in community organizations, social justice programs and advocacy groups have not had the benefit of being accepted as a forum for adult education practice, scholarship and research. The lack of focus on this issue acts as an indictment of the hegemonic state of how adult education is studied and researched. This hegemony "is characterized not only by what it includes, but also by what it excludes: by what it renders marginal, deems inferior and makes invisible" (Fasheh, 1990, p. 24).

Through the facilitation of this symposium, participants will be assisted in confronting the reasons for the "illegitimate" status that this particular form of adult education has in the field. In addition, symposium participants will be encouraged to go beyond discussion to focus on concrete ways in which scholars and practitioners can re-emphasize this particular form of practice, both in the university and in the field. Three areas of questioning will be facilitated: Academics and Activism: Redefining the Link; the Curriculum and Education for Social Change; and Linking Activism to Scholarship.

ACADEMICS AND ACTIVISM: REDEFINING THE LINK

Thomas Heaney

Adult education is big business; its academic programs attract primarily those who aspire to well-paid, managerial responsibilities for educational enterprises which are socially respected. It would be useless to fault this goal. It is, in fact, an intended consequence of the professionalization of the field and the institutionalization of practice. One can hardly assume that an aspiring professional class would commit its energy to remedying social inequities and the consequent elimination of professional privilege. Therefore, the political choices of graduate students and faculty alike are likely to favor social stability, calm waters in which to navigate one's professional career rather than the maelstrom of muck raking and conscientization leading to social change.

"Social change" is an essentially contested term which, like "empowerment," is easily co-opted. Disputes over definitions of such terms are less over "objective" meaning and more over the values and commitments of the persons using them. In the end, essentially contested terms can mean everything or nothing. "Social change" in the context of my own discourse and in the discourse of those who seek to link it with adult education references a redistribution of power and wealth favoring disenfranchised and poorer classes and tending toward political and economic democracy. Its claim is a shift in the relative position of classes, not in the position of individuals within one or another class. Social change is **not** what happens when the offspring of a working class family joins the ranks of the newly emerging professional classes. It **is** what occurs when oppressed groups organize to overcome the hegemony of professional educators or bureaucrats and reclaim control over their own lives.

Social change is impossible in a classless society and the illusion of classlessness in the United States is a formidable obstacle to social change. It is no wonder that social change only emerges as the purpose of adult education in unusual and transitional historic moments--at times of upheaval, great questioning and revolution. Models for such change-oriented adult education derive from Third World countries in transition such as the workers' movements of the '30s and '40s or the civil rights movement in the '50s and '60s. However, even in such turbulent times most educational institutions and the educators employed by them continue to reproduce the dominant social order, not transform it.

The gap between professional adult educators and educator/activists who promote social change is maintained by the former's subjugation to market-driven institutions whose avowed purpose is providing a new class of workers with knowledge and skills which legitimate the latter's disproportionate right to wealth and power. To the extent that adult education is an instrument for the legitimation and protection of class divisions in the workplace, it is inimical to social change. While adult educators maintain their hegemonic status as defenders of the **status quo**, the education of adults in relation to liberatory, social purposes continues to be facilitated by activists, organizers, and indigenous leaders who carry forth the traditions of a Myles Horton, an Alexander Meiklejohn, or a Saul Alinsky, without benefit of or despite academic certification or professional accreditation. So successful has the professionalization of adult education been that these latter activists no longer think of themselves as educators. Hence, the frustration of those adult educators who, marching to a different drummer, attempt to link learning with democratic social change, and without forsaking the status of their profession, forge a bond with social activists whose unacknowledged educational work challenges and illuminates the labor of mainstream adult education.

The search for common ground among these two groups is complicated, however. The culture of academic professionalism, or what Jack London once called "our trained incapacity," strains to balance the rigors of our sciences with the day-to-day political demands of justice and democracy. Most front line activists are too committed to local struggles, too preoccupied with the high energy cost of organizing, to divert time to "dialogue" with academics. The sense of alienation which academics sometimes experience as a result of professionalization and the isolation within the ivory tower is simply not experienced at the "grass roots." At the base, a different set of problems are experienced--problems which academics, by reason of their training, are not able to solve.

THE CURRICULUM AND EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

John Peters

Education for social change is usually associated with the interests of poor and illiterate members of society, and as such is given a great deal of lip service but little commitment by developers of graduate curricula. The predominant emphasis in graduate programs on provider agencies and their marketing orientation overshadows the potential of education for social change related to issues of peace, environment, equity and power, even though these are among the more important issues affecting the quality of life of adults in all social and economic classes. While graduate curricula are much more likely to respond to societal changes than lead in them, graduates of these programs are considered to be educational leaders. Paradoxically, what they lead is the perpetuation of the **status quo** among education provider agencies.

Concepts, models, and theories of social change, in the critical sense, have a place in curricula that are designed to prepare leaders in adult education. Social change in this case involves altering the **status quo** in the interest of improving the quality of life of all adults, not just those who control the means of production. However, this is usually not a comfortable arena of academic practice for most scholars in adult education and administrators of higher education institutions, and their graduate curricula continue to mirror the interests of profit centers in society. The proposed discussion will focus on reasons for this situation, and how an emphasis on education for social change can be made a part of a greater number of graduate curricula.

The direct source of curriculum content includes literature, verbal accounts of professional and personal experiences, and creative work that occurs in formal and informal interactions among students and faculty. Content relating to education and social change can easily be added to the curriculum by incorporating relevant literature sources in the coursework and reading lists provided to students. However, the other two sources of curriculum content are much more problematic when it comes to choosing among available curriculum content domains. This is because these two sources are directly dependent upon the backgrounds, knowledge, and interests of the students and faculty. It is reasonable to assume that students who are social activists will bring to the curriculum ideas and experiences different from those whose work is in mainstream institutions. And the discourse of faculty who are oriented to adult education for social change will differ from that of faculty with mainstream interests. This means that the content of a particular university's graduate curriculum in adult education is not built entirely on the existing formal "knowledge base" of the field of study. It is instead a mixture of this and the expressed knowledge and interests of the faculty and students involved. Introduction of social change content into a curriculum therefore requires that at least one or two faculty members and several students share a predominant interest in adult education for social change. Given faculty with interests in education for social change, a curriculum can be significantly altered by the active participation of students who are also social activists, or are genuinely interested in such work. The curriculum can then be built around the dialogue and discourse of faculty and student interaction, and the curriculum itself can be a regular "target" of change by this same form of action. An example of how this approach is done will serve as a focus of discussion with the symposium audience.

LINKING ACTIVISM TO SCHOLARSHIP

Shauna Butterwick

I would like to suggest several ways in which we, as scholars and practitioners, can re-emphasize adult education for democratic participation and social action. First, I encourage teachers, researchers, and curriculum developers to examine and include feminist literature in their knowledge base, and to support studies of the emancipatory and counter-hegemonic adult education practices which are grounded in the feminist movement (Butterwick, 1987). Second, I suggest that we encourage and engage in "passionate scholarship," a kind of science-making which is animated by and expressive of our values and empowered by our experiences of community (Dubois, 1983). One possibility for this kind of work is to examine our own educational experiences through biographical exposition (Krall, 1988). Another approach is to use our membership roles within social movements and advocacy groups to study the link between adult education and social action (Adler and Adler, 1987). I shall explore this latter notion, beginning with brief mention of some epistemological issues.

Studying our own practice and our own community rejects the notion that there can be absolute separation of the knowing subject and the objects of knowledge (Smith, 1987). It demands, instead, that we act in terms of subjectivity, involvement, and commitment. This approach is contextual, grounded in situated knowledges and argues for "the privilege of a partial perspective" (Haraway, 1988). Objectivity is developed through the recognition of the limits of our understanding and being answerable for what we learn and how we see. The relationship between researcher and researched is one of reciprocity and mutual negotiation of meaning through interaction, dialogue, and self disclosure.

Using our membership roles to study social action goes much beyond the role of participant observer (Adler and Adler, 1987). In this situation the struggle is not to achieve a sense of membership in a community, but to carve out a role as researcher. Pre-existing relationships are changed, new relationships are developed, and there is a broader and deeper involvement than before. This provides opportunities that are not available to an outside researcher coming to a group. Being native to the group enhances the data gathering process and provides and "understanding in use" rather than "reconstituted understanding." Our dual role as member and researcher can also contribute to critical reflection by other members of the group and encourage ongoing analysis (Lather, 1986).

This dual role is not without its difficulties. As we take on this role, we must struggle with ongoing tension between participation and reflection. At times we will feel rather overwhelmed. There is a potential for role conflict as we try to maintain full membership and a research perspective simultaneously. And there may be awkwardness as we encounter perspectives and information which make us uncomfortable. As a result of the superimposed researcher perspective, our prior membership role will be transformed and we will become different persons.

Using our membership role as activists in social movements and advocacy groups is not for everyone and not for every setting. It can provide, however, a powerful and transformative opportunity to expand our understanding about adult education for democratic participation and social action.

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POSTER PRESENTATION: AN INQUIRY INTO HOW POLICE OFFICERS CONTINUE THE LEARNING PROCESS THROUGHOUT A CAREER

Elaine Bartgis
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Abstract: As most professionals move through a career, continual changes take place. C. O. Houle suggests that, in part, change occurs through a continuing learning process that may involve different modes for learning. These modes are inquiry, performance, and instruction. Houle studied several professional practices, including nurses, physicians and teachers. This exploratory study will look at the professionalism of police to determine if Houle's theory is applicable to the law enforcement community.

The means of inquiry for this study will consist of open ended interviews regarding a preselected set of skills. These skills will be drawn from a 1987 job task analysis commissioned by the Oklahoma Council on Law Enforcement Education and Training (CLEET). The analysis was conducted to examine responsibilities and duties incumbent in the role of a police officer. The section of the analysis that will be utilized in this study will deal particularly with the investigative function.

The group to be interviewed will consist of ten to twelve police officers who have a background of five to ten years of law enforcement experience in an urban setting. For the purpose of this study it is not necessary that an officer is or has been assigned to a particular investigation unit. Officers in their daily duties, particularly in the urban area, should find they have a need for a number of, if not all, the skills that will be presented to them.

The responses will be evaluated and the data prepared as a poster presentation which will display the instruments used and the data analyzed.

POSTER PRESENTATION

Gary Bergman

TITLE: PRACTICAL MOTIVATION IN SELF-DIRECTED LEARNING

What motivating factors prompt adults over age sixty-five to seek out structured learning experiences? Why would a person in his or her "retirement" years be motivated to return to the college classroom?

The humanistic paradigm of learning "emphasizes the joyful, conflict-free release of the individual's boundless potential. . . a liberating, fulfilling voyage along a smoothly flowing river of self-actualization." Stephen Brookfield points out, however, that often this is simply not the case. "There are many occasions when we face annoying and frustrating difficulties, anxiety producing blockages and intimidatingly complex bodies of knowledge, concepts or skills." The motivation for a structured learning experience probably falls somewhere between these two opposite extremes.

Ron and Susan Zemke note that research indicates adults seek out a structured learning experience on their own at least twice a year. They offer the following six "insights" from research into motivation in learning:

1. Adults seek out learning experiences in order to cope with special life-change events.
2. The more life-change events an adult encounters, the more likely he or she is to seek out learning opportunities. . .for many of us learning is a coping response to significant change.
3. The learning experiences adults seek out on their own are directly related - at least in their own perception - to the life-change events that triggered the seeking.
4. Adults are generally willing to engage in learning experiences before, after, or even during the actual life-change event. Once convinced that the change is a certainty, adults will engage in any learning that promises to help them cope with the transition.
5. For most adults, learning is not its own reward. Adults who are motivated to seek out a learning experience do so primarily (80-90% of the time) because they have a use for the knowledge or skill being sought. Learning is a means to an end, not an end in itself.
6. Increasing or maintaining one's sense of self-esteem and pleasure are strong secondary motivators for engaging in learning experiences.

This exploratory study will focus on confirming the efficacy of these explanatory "insights" for retirees engaged in formal learning. Inductive interviews will be conducted with twelve individuals who are currently enrolled in regular undergraduate university classes through a special admissions program for adults over sixty-five. The above six statements will form the substantive base in developing lead questions for semi-structured interviews.

POSTER PRESENTATION:
AN ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY OF RURAL COLLEGE WOMEN:
FUTURE PERSPECTIVES

Glyna Olson, Graduate Student, University of Oklahoma
Paul Kleine, Professor, Educational Psychology, University of Oklahoma

In an effort to better understand today's emerging rural college women, this qualitative study records the interview responses of six southwestern rural women less than twenty years of age who have been reared for a lifetime in communities of 3000 or less population.

For the past twenty years, national quantitative surveys have studied changing life and career perspectives of college students. However, as is the nature of quantitative surveys, in an effort to organize, simplify and generalize, often the essence of individuals or small groups is compromised for the mean results. Given this, one wonders if small regionalized groups such as rural college women have ever been adequately represented in these mass undertakings.

These rural women were observed in a learning environment and individually interviewed with questions concerning the following issues: educational aspirations, career goals, life sequencing fantasies, and personal view of self in relation to others. For the latter issue, the women responded to Heinz' Dilemma (Kohlberg, 1958, 1981; Gilligan, 1982; Belenky et. al. 1986).

Outcomes indicate that, for these women, rural enculturation was only partially a collective experience. As a group, these women continue to support traditional institutions such as marriage, family, and religion. However, unlike their mothers, these women want fewer children, delayed marriages and careers. The greatest difference between the women in this study was their individual level of empowerment. Using Gilligan's and Belenky et. al's work, it appeared a woman's experience within the primary family contributed to her ability or inability to make decisions and speak with her own "voice". The women interviewed in this study who had weak or absent father figures, coupled with assertive female influences, were more empowered and possessed a stronger voice. This voice was one of caring blended with objectivity--a gender-integrated voice. Contrastingly, women with close, often supportive, relationships with males within the primary family did not speak in their own voices and had difficulty making decisions. When these women did make decisions, they were subjective and traditionally female normed.

Posters will reflect representative responses in each area.